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FREDERICK VON RAUMER.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., 22, LUDGATE STREET.

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Erratum, p. 116.—The heading is wrong: it should be as marked in this table of contents.

NOTE.

The Portrait of the Queen of Scots, prefixed to this Volume, is reduced from a contemporary original drawing, slightly sketched with chalk, touched here and there with coloured crayons, for a fac-simile of which the author is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Lenormand. It belongs to a series of portraits of distinguished personages in the French Court, from Henry II. to Charles IX., which is preserved in the royal collection of engravings at Paris. The name of the artist who drew them is uncertain. Dumoustier, whose fine portraits in red chalk are well known, was of the time of Henry III.: they might rather be ascribed to François Chouet, named Janet, similar portraits by whom are in the possession of Earl Carlisle, in Castle Howard. Though the face may appear older, the queen must be here represented before her marriage with Francis II., in her sixteenth year, when she received a conventual education. In the original the hair is of a light colour; and this agrees with the fact that a lock, which is preserved in a Scotch family as a relic of the queen, is blond.

PREFACE

I SUBMIT the fruits of my historical researches in the British Museum and the State Paper Office to the English public with still greater apprehension than to my German countrymen, principally because there is a greater divergency of opinion respecting the two queens, Elizabeth and Mary, in Great Britain than in Germany. For if, in Germany, poetry has often divided the judgment, previous to all historical inquiry, in England, the opposition of nation and religion acts with double force. Though the age of Frederick II. is nearer to us, it has the advantage of being judged of with more impartiality and calmness, in a great measure because the abovementioned opposing motives have little or no influence; at least the hatred which Prussia and Austria cherished towards each other is happily vanished.

I must here take the liberty of touching on some objections which have been made to my communications. One party says it is an ill-judged, blamable proceeding to communicate to the friends of history so very little out of the rich store of remarkable documents; they ought all to be printed, or those selected ought at least not to be given piecemeal,

but in their whole extent. In reply to this, I answer, I join in the wish that access to public archives may be more and more facilitated to those who properly investigate history in order that prejudices and errors (my own included) may be removed. But it would be no gain to history, if the immense mass of what is not remarkable were printed; as where, for instance, could publishers and readers be found for two hundred and ninety-two volumes of ambassadorial despatches relative to a period of about twenty-five years? I must also affirm that it is more to the purpose, and much easier, to choose what is most attractive, than to print single documents at full length, with all the really very uninteresting superfluous matter.

While these friends of history censure the brevity of what is communicated, and ask for more, another class of readers has complained that it is already too long and tedious. The only advice I can give them is to throw these volumes aside and select some other kind of reading.

A third party says, this tediousness arises from the defects of the plan, by which the communications are isolated, unconnected, and fragmentary; that they are mere materials which the author ought to have connected and worked up into a complete whole. Undoubtedly these materials might be used and worked up in various ways by me and others. This task, however, is as different from that which I had to perform as a continued history from per-

sonal memoirs. If I had desired to efface the original colour, to change the peculiar expressions, to lengthen what was short, and to fill up from other sources and accounts the great hiatus, which are not to be ascribed to me, the book would have become still longer and more tedious to certain readers. It would certainly have lost the character of originality. If any person should discover any hitherto unknown original sources of Roman and Greek history, the public would require from him (had he even the talents of Ferguson or Gibbon) not merely to work them up, but to communicate them without alteration. If I had done so, I might, with much greater justice, be accused of presumption, and people might say they did not want to see my transformation and metamorphosis, but the speeches, characters, and the facts, as they originally appear, without historical art or artifice, in the hitherto unknown original sources. Well-informed readers ask chiefly for what is new; for others not so well informed I have given brief extracts from printed letters. If, notwithstanding, the contents should in some parts appear to require elucidation, there are many other works in which it may be found.

VON RAUMER.

London,
12th September, 1836.

TO

LUDWIG TIECK,

IN

DRESDEN.

ELIZABETH,

AND

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

LETTER I.

Preceding Researches—New Sources in the British Museum and State-paper Office.

You know, my dear friend, that I had no intention whatever of making, during my visit to England, historical investigations relative to the two queens, Elizabeth and Mary; for the second volume of my 'History of Europe' was already printed, so that any discoveries I might make would not be available in that work; and it appeared to me to be presumptuous to enter the lists with English writers who commenced new and careful inquiries into these subjects. On the other hand, my predilection for such investigations was awakened when I found myself in the midst of unexplored sources; and I was further impelled to resume my researches, because some persons affirmed that new discoveries disproved the results which I had developed in the 'History of Europe,' and in the 'Letters from Paris,' vol. ii. p. 88-221. I naturally desired personally to examine into so many controverted points, before I gave implicit credit to the assertions of others. Every doubt was at length removed by

Mr. Lemon, keeper of the State-paper Office, who said plainly—"You are a fool if you suffer yourself to be deterred by any competition. If every body has, for hundreds of years, made such use of the sources of ancient history as he was able, why should you reject sources of modern history, which have hitherto remained partly or wholly unknown? You have, for some years past, paid great attention to the history of these two queens: complete your early labours, and oppose errors which again threaten to come into vogue."

Thus impelled by my own inclinations, and encouraged by Mr. Lemon, I commenced my researches in the British Museum and State-paper Office, but soon found the mass of materials so great, that several folio volumes might have been filled with them. Every one who undertakes such an investigation must, therefore, be very strict in his selections, which, however, will always be very different, according to the personal opinions and the object of those who enter upon them. Some will consider one point, and some another, important or unimportant; and, notwithstanding all the new facts, the result and the conclusions will by no means exactly coincide.

As on former occasions, I shall now endeavour, with the greatest impartiality, by the aid of some facts already known and printed, as well as of much which is unknown and unprinted, to clear up the reciprocal relations of Elizabeth and Mary. With respect to the general history of England, I may refer to my 'History of Europe,' but it is necessary again to insert the substance of my letters from Paris, as far as they relate to these queens;

and the more so, as the greater part was originally derived from English sources, and is illustrated, connected, and confirmed by the new discoveries.

Of your participation and approval, my dear friend, I may be certain. I have only to wish that others may be of opinion that my endeavours have not been fruitless, or at least not lay the blame upon me, if the historical truth be contrary to the prejudices which they have hitherto entertained.

LETTER II.

Elizabeth's Letters to the Duke of Somerset and Queen Mary Tudor.

I HAVE remarked in my 'History of Europe *,' that the early education and situation of the two queens, Elizabeth and Mary, had an essential influence on the fortunes of their after-life. Letters written by Mary when young, to her mother and other relatives, are too unimportant and trifling to merit publication; whereas those written by Elizabeth before she ascended the throne, appear to me worthy of being made known †.

1548. The Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, informed Elizabeth that her governess, Catharine Ashley, would be removed from her ‡. On the 1st of March Elizabeth returned the following answer from Hatfield §:—

* Vol. ii. p. 414.

† On the 7th of September, 1533, Anna Boleyn wrote from Greenwich to Sir — Joscelin, that Elizabeth had been born that day. Cod. Harleianus, 787, p. 1.

‡ Codex Lansdown. in the British Museum, 109, p. 42.

§ Bibl. Lansdown. 1236, p. 35. The date of the year is not stated;

"I must take the part of my governess; first, because she hath been with me so long a time and many years, and hath taken great labour and pain in bringing me up in learning and honesty, and therefore I ought, of very duty, speak for her; for Saint Gregory said, that we are more bound to them that bring us up well, than to our parents; for our parents do what is natural for them, that is, bringeth us in the world, but our bringers up are a cause to make us live well in it. The second is, that because I think that whatever she hath done in the admiral's matter as concerning the marrying of me, she did it because knowing him to be one of the council, she thought he would not go about any such thing without he had the council's consent thereunto; for I have heard her many times say, that she would never have me marry in any place without your grace's and the council's consentiment. The third cause is, that men shall and doth think that I am not clear of the deed myself, but that it is pardoned in me because of my youth; because that she I loved so well is in such a place. Thus hope, prevailing more with me than fear, hath won the battle, and I have at this time gone forth with it. Which I pray God be taken no other way than it is meant. Written in haste. Your assured friend, to my little power. ELIZABETH."

This letter, which was certainly written previously to the admiral's death, incidentally throws some light on his scheme of marrying Elizabeth, and proves how early her judgment had been developed;

but as the admiral, the Protector's brother, was executed on the 10th of March, 1549, this letter must have been written before that time.

but, like all her subsequent letters, it is difficult to be understood, because the style is intricate, and the subjects frequently blended.

The next interesting letter of Elizabeth, dated 2nd of August, 1556, is addressed to her half-sister, Queen Mary, and relates to the prevailing disturbances and to personal matters *

" When I revolve in mind (most noble queen) the old love of pagnims to their princes, and the reverent fear of the Romans to their senate, I can but muse for my part, and blush for theirs, to see the rebellious hearts and devilish intents of Christians in name, but Jews in deed, towards their anointed king; which, methinks, if they had feared God, though they could not have loved the state, they should, for dread of their own plague, have refrained that wickedness which their bounden duty to your majesty had not restrained. But when I call to remembrance that the devil *tanquam leo rugiens circumivit, quærens quem devorare potest,* I do the less marvel, though (? that) he have gotten such novices into his professed house as vessels (without God's grace) more apt to serve his palace than meet to inhabit English land. I am the bolder to call them his imps, for that St. Paul said, *seditiosi sunt filii diaboli;* and since I have so good a buckler, I fear the less to enter into their judgment. Of this I assure your majesty, though it be my part, above the rest, to bewail such things, and though my name had not been in them, yet it vexed me so much that the devil owes me such a hate as to put me in any part of his mischievous instiga-

* Bibl. Lansdown. 1236, p. 37

tions; whom, as I profess him my foe, that is, all Christians' enemy, so wish I he had some other way invented to spite me.

"But since it hath pleased God thus to bewray their malice, afore to finish their purposes, I most humbly thank him, both that he has ever thus preserved your majesty through his aid, much like a lamb from the horns of this Basan's bull, and also stirred up the hearts of your loving subjects to resist them and deliver you, to his honour and their shame. The intelligence of which proceeding from your majesty deserves more humble thanks than with my pen I can render, which as infinite I will leave to number. And amongst earthly things I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, that I might show my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patients. For then I doubt not, but know well that whatever others should subject by malice, yet your majesty should be sure by knowledge that the more such mists render offuscate the clear light of my soul, the more my tried thoughts should glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice.

"But since wishes are vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that (which) my thoughts cannot declare, and they be not misdeemed, as the facts have been so well tried. And like as I have been your faithful subject from the beginning of your reign, so shall no wicked person cause me to change to the end of my life. And thus I commend your majesty to God's tuition, whom I beseech long time to preserve; ending with

the new remembrance of my old suits, more for that I should not be forgotten than for that I think it not remembered. From Hatfield, the 2nd of August. Your majesty's obedient subject and humble sister."

Notwithstanding these assurances, the misunderstanding between the two sisters did not abate; and it was Mary's especial desire that Elizabeth should be married abroad. She, however, positively declined this several times, among others (on the 26th of April, 1558), when Mary had dispatched Sir — Pope to her for this purpose *.

LETTER III.

Arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland—Festivities—Discontent—Knox.

Many of the historians who have written upon Mary Stuart, commence their account with her imprisonment in England. By this arrangement, however, I think that the main point of view is shifted, and our judgment embarrassed; for the most important period of her life, and the one which requires the greatest elucidation, is that of her reign in Scotland. Nay, compared with this earlier por-

* Cod. Harleian. 444, p. 28. After her accession, Elizabeth told the Spanish ambassador that Philip II. had endeavoured to promote her marriage with the Duke of Savoy, but that she knew that her sister had lost her influence in the country by marrying a foreigner. Memorias de la real Academia de la Historia. Madrid. 1832. vol. vii. p. 256. We find in the same place some particulars relative to Philip's plan of marrying Elizabeth. He alleged that his intentions were founded on pious motives, while Count Feria urged him to obtain from the Pope a declaration of the illegitimacy and heresy of Elizabeth, and to transfer the kingdom to Mary Queen of Scots.

tion, the many years of her subsequent captivity are void and insignificant; and it was Babington's conspiracy alone which, after she was virtually dead, called her back into life, only that it might then be brought to a sudden, tragical, and violent end.

The conduct of the Scotch and of Queen Elizabeth cannot be thoroughly understood without referring to the earlier acts of Queen Mary; and he who bears in mind the mode of her education, the seductive and demoralized court of Catherine de Medicis, is more a friend, or, at least, a more impartial judge of the unfortunate princess, than he who invests her with a false halo of poetic lustre, contrasted with which the austere truth of history only assumes a deeper dye.

The death of Francis II.; the jealousy of Catherine de Medicis; the confused state of affairs in Scotland; the desire to be an independent sovereign, and to check the influence of England; these and many other considerations excited in Mary the wish to leave France. Her arrival in Scotland did not, however, seem either very advisable or welcome to the English ministry; at least Cecil*, on the 30th of June, 1561, writes to Randolph, the English ambassador at Edinburgh †—"It shall do much hurt in Scotland if the queen should come thither, before things be better stablished. To stay her is no better way than that she and her friends in France be impressed with the same conviction, and that equitable concessions be made in respect to religion." Wishes and negociations, however, could

* William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley.
† Cod. Harleian. 6990, p. 6.

not keep the queen away*: accompanied by Aumale, Elbeuf, Anville, &c., she landed at Leith on the 19th of August, 1561, and was received at Edinburgh on the 2nd of September with great triumph and rejoicing. The letters from Randolph, whom we have already mentioned, contain many interesting and instructive particulars relative to these festivities and entertainments, and to the disputes, disturbances, religious persecutions, &c. which afterwards ensued. I shall, therefore, communicate, in chronological order, some of the most important passages.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

"September 7th, 1561†.

"I assure you the voice of one man is able, in one hour, to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears. Mr. Knox spoke last Thursday to the queen: he knocked so heartily upon her heart, that he made her weep;—for that will do as well for anger as for grief. She charged him with his book‡, with his severe dealing with all men that disagree with him in his opinions. She willed him to use more meekness in his sermons. Some things he spoke to her satisfaction in mitigating the rigours of his book; and in some things he pleased her very little, in special speaking against the mass. It was presented her (at a feast) a boy of six years; he came, as it were, from heaven, out of a globe, which offered her a bible, psalter, and the key of the gates. They

* Diurnal of occurrences in Scotland, p. 66. Cod. Harleian. 6371. Diary of Robert Birrell, burgess of Edinburgh.]

† Cod. Harl. 4645. p. 102. ‡ On Female Succession.

had pageants to represent the horrible judgments of God upon idolatry; they had the burning of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; they designed to have a priest burnt at the elevation: Huntley hindered that pageant."

We shall see, from the annexed correspondence and reports, that Mary was disappointed in the hope she had conceived, that Knox and his adherents, out of regard to her wishes and exhortations, would assume a milder and more conciliatory tone towards the Roman Catholics.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

"September 21st, 1561*.

"Sunday, the 8th of September, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James (Mary's half-brother), so disturbed the queen during mass, that some priests and others left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. This was a sport for some, while others shed tears for that matter. It is suspected that Lord James seeked to mind his own advancement; but as yet he has had but little from the queen."

The influence and feelings of Mary received a still severer blow by the proclamation of Archibald Douglas, the provost, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, which commanded all monks, priests, and papists, to leave the city on pain of death †.

To punish them for their presumption, Mary had the authors of the proclamation deprived of their offices on the 9th of October; a measure which rather increased than diminished the discontent.

* Loc. Cit. † Occurrences in Scotland, 69.

On this occasion Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 27th of October, 1561*:

"It seemeth wonder that the whole state of this realm should be altered by one head or two, by one woman, and some men of whose excellent wisdom there was never yet either great opinion or fame."

If, however, the queen and her counsellors were not exempt from precipitation and error, the same reproach must apply equally to her adversaries. Accordingly, Randolph writes to Cecil on the 11th of November, 1561†.

"It is now called in question, whether the queen, being an idolatress, may be obeyed in all civil and political actions. I think marvel of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, stout, and cumbersome people no more substance or power than they have, for then they would run wild."

LETTER IV.

Mary and Elizabeth—Randolph—Bothwell—Conspiracies in Scotland.

In proportion as Mary's situation, with respect to her subjects, became difficult and critical, the more necessary was it that she should endeavour to be on good terms with her powerful neighbour Elizabeth. She believed that she should take the right course, and that which was the best calculated to attain her object, by being extremely polite in words and form, without in any way giving up her essential

* Scotch Correspondence in the State Paper Office, packet 6, for the years 1561—1563.

† Cod. Harleian. 4645.

pretensions. She therefore said, when her marrying again was spoken of *,—"I will have no other husband than the Queen of England;" she therefore put a letter of Elizabeth in her bosom, saying, "If I could keep it nearer to my heart, I would do so †." With respect to the important treaty of Edinburgh, which she had not yet executed, she wrote, as early as the 5th of January, 1562, to Elizabeth ‡:—"How prejudicial that treaty is to our title and interest, as by birth, the natural descent of your own lineage, may fall to us, &c.—How studiously a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in abstruse terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as if we were strangers to it. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that you deal friendly to us," &c.

It was no easy task for an English ambassador to discover the real and ultimate opinions and plans of Mary. Thus Randolph writes to Cecil, on the 30th of January, 1562 §:—"This queen's affection towards Elizabeth is so great, as I believe it was never greater towards any; or it is the deepest dissembled and the best covered that ever was. Besides the good words that I have heard divers times of her mouth; besides what she has written herself, and caused others to do the like, with ample testimony of her good will, her doings do also testify the same in relation of the borderers.

* Randolph, 17th December, 1561. Cod. Harleian. 4645.

† Randolph, 17th June, 1562. Loose papers concerning Scotland, in the State Paper Office, bundle 3.

‡ Scotch Correspondence, packet 6. Raumer's History of Europe, vol. ii. p. 443.

§ Scotch Correspondence, packet 6.

"I do travail also what I can with those that are nearest about her, to know her disposition that way, and whether it be *ex natura aut ex industria*; and briefly it either passed my judgment and their wits to conceal it, or her meaning is as her tongue uttered it, and as her hand witnessed: for *nihil simulatum diuturnum*."

Mary was the less able at this time to appear openly opposed to Elizabeth, as great apprehensions were excited by troubles and conspiracies in her own kingdom. I will introduce here only what relates to her future husband, Bothwell. Already, in November, 1559, he had plundered Lord Ormiston on political pretexts*; and, 31st March, 1562, Randolph writes to Cecil†:—"In these days the Earl of Bothwell, with eight in company, lieth *again* in wait for the Lord of Ormiston, with whom the first quarrel was for the money your highness knoweth of. The lord, with his wife and eldest son, a young man about twenty-three years of age, was out hunting: they all turned back, when they saw the danger, into a little town belonging to them: only the son, who ventured out to see what was going on, was made prisoner, but set at liberty in the sequel. This fact miscontented the whole country, in special the queen and her council."

Three days after this wrote Bothwell to the Earl of Arran, that he was sorry he had offended him. After long enmity they suddenly became reconciled, and lived with the greatest intimacy. This drew the attention of the queen, who endeavoured to come to the bottom of these plots and intrigues. "I know," said Bothwell to Arran, "that you are the man

* Scotch Correspondence, vol. iv. † Ibid., vol. vi.

most hated of any man in Scotland, with the queen, Mar, and Lidington (Lethington). I know this to be true upon such conference as I have had with the queen herself and others, &c." "If you will follow my counsel and give me credit, I have an easy way to remedy the whole; that is, to put the queen into your hands, and to have away your chief enemies, Mar and Lidington. It was concluded between them that the queen should be taken by force, and brought to Dumbarton, and Mar and Lidington slain." The young Earl of Arran discovered the whole matter to the queen, on which his father and Bothwell were imprisoned at St. Andrew's.

Notwithstanding this and other accounts, neither the intention nor the circumstances are clear; but it seems unquestionable that there were various intrigues and dissensions, and that Bothwell, at least, behaved meanly. On the 7th of April, 1562, Randolph writes:—"Bothwell and Arran have been examined, but have confessed nothing. Arran will tell the truth only on certain conditions: the queen will receive no such conditions. Arran assured me that the whole was fantasies."

On the 24th of September, 1562, Randolph continues,—"Bothwell has escaped from his imprisonment; he hath written to the queen, and doth submit himself. Anything that he can do or say can little prevail. The purpose is, at least, to put him out of the country."

Bothwell went to England, and as he was unable to obtain anything from Mary, he endeavoured to gain the favour of Elizabeth*. The Queen of Scotland, however, urged his being sent from Eng-

* Scottish Correspond., vol. vi.

land; and Randolph adds, "I think him of so little consequence, that it is indifferent what becomes of him."

In consideration of all these things, Randolph writes to Elizabeth on the 26th of May:—"So long as the queen is in heart divided from her subjects through the diversity of religion, there is neither that quietness of mind nor peace in conscience, that is most to be desired in true service to their sovereign; nor can I yet see how her fate will long continue, seeing the selfsame seeds remain that were the occasion of the former mischief." On the 12th of October he says,—"The troubles that are in these parts have now come so far, that they are altogether without hope to return into their sovereign's favour, and she herself utterly determined to proceed against them with all extremities." Nor can this resolution to employ rigour excite surprise; for Cecil writes, on the 4th of December, 1562 *,—"The son of the Earl Huntley has confessed that his father intended to burn the Queen of Scotland in her residence, and to put the crown on the head of the duke, who is entirely dependent on him."

Whatever part of these accusations, which were alleged and denied, may be true or false, it is certain that Mary was already at this time most unfortunately circumstanced with respect to her subjects, and sons and fathers did not hesitate to impute to each other the most shameful plots and crimes.

* Bibl. Lansdown., vol. cii., No. 26.

LETTER V.

Proposed interview with Mary and Elizabeth—A Poem by Mary.

VARIOUS conjectures may be made on the question, whether a personal interview of Elizabeth and Mary would have established a closer friendship, or have led to a more speedy breach between them; it was certainly the serious intention of both queens, in 1562, to see and confer with each other. Accordingly Elizabeth wrote, on the 16th of June, to Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon *, to be ready by August to receive her, for such an interview, at York, or some neighbouring town, with his wife and at least twenty-six other persons, "foreseeing that the array of yourself and your wife and your trains may be according to the best of your station and degrees, for the honour of such an interview." On the 15th of July, 1562, the envoys of the two queens at York concluded an arrangement, which says †, their meeting should be full of joy, and give occasion to maintain and increase their reciprocal affection. Neither should make the other any reproach, but all unpleasant matters should be avoided, such as maintenance, attendance, religious worship, &c. In consequence of various obstacles the interview was put off till the following spring; and then, from more important causes, never took place.

A poem of Mary's, which I have discovered, seems to be addressed to Elizabeth, and to have been composed at this time ‡. It is in French and Italian.

* Cod. Harleian. 3881. † Cod. Lansdown. vol. cxli., p. 156.
‡ Cod. Harleian, 4649, p. 77.

Al pensier che mi nuoche insieme e giova
Amaro e dolce al mio cuor cangio spesso,
E fra tema e speranza lo tien si oppresso
Che la quieta pace unque no' trova.
Però se questa carta voi rinova
Il bel desio di vedervi in me impresso
Cio fa il gran affanno che in se stesso
Ho non potendo giamai da se far prova.
Ho veduto talor vicino al porto
Rispinger nave in mar contrario vento
E nel maggior seren turbarsi il cielo.
Cosi sorella cara temo e pavento
Non gia per voi ma quante volte
A torto rompe fortuna un bel ordito velo.

Un seul penser qui me profitte et nuit
Amer et doulx change en mon cœur sans cesse
Entre la doubte et l'espère il m'oppresse
Tant que la paix et le repos me fuit.
Dont chère soeur si cette carte suit
L'affection de vous veoir qui me presse
Si promptement l'effet ne s'en ensuite,
J'ai vu la nef relacher par contrainte
En haulte mer proche d'entrer au port
Et le serein se convertir en trouble;
Ainsi je suis en souçi et en crainte,
Non pas de vous, mais quantesfois à tort
Fortune rompt voile et cordage double.

LETTER VI.

Mary and Chastellet.

THE question of the continence or incontinence of kings, and other remarkable persons, has frequently been treated with undue gravity, and investigated with useless curiosity; but when the fate of the individual, and the whole tendency of his life, are so closely connected with it, as in the case of Queen Mary, we are impelled to enter on the in-

quiry, and forced to come to a decision. Those writers who advocate, in every instance, her innocence and purity, entangle themselves in a countless multitude of inexplicable difficulties; whereas but too much light and connexion is given to the history, when we let drop these suppositions, and allow that she could not withstand the power of love, nor live without its gratification.

The first equivocal history that we meet with is that of Chastellet, or Chastellart; and though it is not fully cleared up by the two following reports of Randolph, yet they serve to dispel, in some degree, the obscurity in which the circumstances have hitherto been involved.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

"15th February, 1563*.

"Chastellet, M. Danville's trusty servant, has by violence attempted the queen's dishonour in the most shameful sort, that ever the same was done unto any like personage. I will not at this time take upon me to give the whole circumstance, because it is a thing so lately done, that I verily believe it is not known but to very few, and the matter yet kept very secret. But of this you must be assured, that in the night of the 13th of February, the queen being in Burnte Island, beyond the water, on her way to St. Andrew's, going to her bed, Chastellet retired himself to a secret corner, and only two of her gentlewomen present, cometh forth, and then setteth upon her with such force, and in such impudent sort, that the queen herself was said

* Scotch Correspondence, in the State Paper Office, vol. vi.

to cry for help; and the matter so manifest, that no colour could be found to hide the shame and dishonour."

Randolph, having stated that an investigation would be instituted, and in what manner, proceeds:

"Thus you hear the beginning of a lamentable story, whereof such infamy will arise, as I fear now the wound will never be healed, the schaare (scar) will for ever remain. Thus you see what mischief ensues of the over great familiarity that any such personage showeth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet, as even her grace used with him. What colour soever can be laid upon it, yet it was done for his master's sake? Yet I cannot but say is too much to have been used to his master's self by any princess alive. This morning I received a letter from Murray to the Lord Lethington, willing him, in his sovereign's name, to send back all such letters as he had of Chastellet's to her majesty, or any others, wherever any mention is made of the cause."

On the 28th of February Randolph completes his report in the following manner*:—

"Chastellet was found under her bed with his sword besides him, and his dagger about him (the day before Mary's departure from Edinburgh), the queen being ready to go into her bed. Whereof the queen, not being made privy that night, and in the morning being advertised, she commanded him out of her presence. He, notwithstanding, followed her to Dumfermline, and, either by some words or token, finding, as he thought, her wrath appeased, took new courage upon him; and at her coming unto

* Loc. cit.

Burnte Island, the queen being in her chamber, no man in her company, only certain gentlewomen about her, he cometh in alone, and desired that he might purge himself of that crime that he was charged with, that he was found under her bed: but said, that being in the queen's chamber late at night, and finding himself heavy for want of sleep, got him into the next place that was at hand, which was the most secret place of the whole house, where the queen did resort unto about her most privy affairs; in plain words, saving your grace, in the privy. Though this was thought evil enough, and greater boldness in him than any man ought to have used, though of a far greater calling than he was of; yet was he convicted by sufficient witnesses, that he (was) not found there, but under the bed. This being proved against him, he was committed to ward; the next day sent unto St. Andrew's, and, within five or six days after, his head cut off in the open market-place. He died with repentance; he confessed privately more than he spoke openly. His purpose was, that night that he was found under her bed, to have tried her constance (?), and by force to have attempted that which by no preservation (?), he could attain unto; whereof ensued to him the worthy reward of so rash an enterprise of so unworthy a creature, even to have thought to come by that, which she herself, I believe, judgeth very few men in the world worthy of. The queen herself had taken some grief of mind for that matter. She begins now to be merry again: I doubt not but this sorrow will pass, and the wonder thereof within few days be outblown."

Though, as I have observed, these two accounts

do not fully clear up these deplorable occurrences, I think I am authorised to draw the following conclusions from them.

Firstly, Chastellet did by no means, and, least of all, in the presence of two gentlewomen, venture on a violent attack on Queen Mary.

Secondly, he was found in the evening under the queen's bed, carried away, and the queen not informed of it till the following morning.

Thirdly, she knew nothing of Chastellet's plan; for if she had intended a meeting, she might easily have arranged it in a more convenient and safe manner.

Fourthly, Chastellet was incited to his presumptuous enterprise by the excessive familiarity of the queen.

But whether we assent to or deny this, and lay the whole blame on his own infatuated passion, it was harsh and cruel in the queen to deliver him up to the axe of the executioner. If she yielded to the advice of others, through fear of a more strict inquiry, she manifested great weakness *; if she did it of her own free will, in order to do away with all suspicion, and obtain the general approbation of her way of living, the means did not succeed, and circumstances of more or less importance gave occasion to new reproaches.

*According to Randolph's observations, she would willingly have saved Chastellet, but Murray and some counsellors looked on the matter in a more serious light, and insisted on his punishment.—Cod. Harleian. 4649, p. 22.

LETTER VII.

Mary's cheerful way of living—Plans of Marriage—Situation with respect to Elizabeth.

In times of over-rigid puritanical reformation, when cheerfulness of disposition, when every innocent enjoyment of life was stigmatized as sinful, Mary Stuart would never have been able, even with the greatest circumspection, to escape censure; how much less when she disregarded all precaution, nay, exceeded the due limits, and set at nought moral decorum. "She devotes every morning," says the French ambassador, Foys *, "to the chase, and every evening to balls and masquerades, which greatly offends the Puritans."

"Since the beginning of this queen's sorrows (writes Randolph, on the 1st of April, 1563, to Cecil †), she has taken pleasure to ride up and down, a hawking and hunting daily, from place to place. She renewed unto me all her griefs and great adventures that had fallen unto her since the death of her husband, and how she was now destitute of all friendship. Wherefore I should not wonder to see her at so extreme points of sorrow, as she was, whereunto it was not possible for her to put an end."

When Randolph, however, brought her a letter from Elizabeth, at which she was greatly rejoiced and comforted, she said, "God will not leave me destitute; I have received the best letter of my

* Cod. S. Germain, 740.

† Maria, queen, during her imprisonment in England.—State-paper Office, vol. vii.

good sister of England that ever I had; and I do assure you it comforted me much."

"The queen (writes Randolph, on the 13th of June *) gave me audience in bed; she keeped her bed that day rather for her ease than for any grief she found in her body." Perhaps, however, she needed rest after nocturnal entertainments; of one which Randolph says †—"The banquet continued with joy and mirth, marvellous sights and great show, and singular devices; nothing left undone that might either fill the bellies, feed the eyes, or content the mind." Many were offended at Mary and her ladies sometimes appearing at such entertainments in male attire ‡; and the following report of Randolph to Elizabeth, of the 5th of February, 1565, will show better than these detached remarks, the lights and shadows of Mary's way of life.

The queen had gone with a few attendants to St. Andrew's, and lived very merrily in a citizen's house. Randolph delivered to her a letter from Elizabeth, to which she gave no answer, except that he should dine and sup with her every day §. After this had continued for three days, and the queen did not begin to speak of matters of business, Randolph thought it his duty to mention them. She answered, "I see now well, that you are weary of this company and treatment. I wish for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live with my little troop. And you will interrupt the pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to

* Scotch Miscell. Papers in State-paper Office.
† Scotch Corres., vol. vi. ‡ Occurrences in Scotland, 87.
§ Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vii.

Edinburgh; and keep your gravity and great embassade until the queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not see her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of state, nor such appearances that you may think there is a queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrew's, that I was at Edinburgh."

Thus this gay life was continued; in the sequel, however, many serious matters were discussed, especially Mary's relation with Elizabeth. She said, "If Elizabeth will own me as her natural-born sister or daughter, I will take myself as the one or the other, as she pleases, and will show no less readiness to obey her and honour her as my mother or elder sister; but if she will regard me always but as her neighbour, or Queen of Scotland, how willing soever I be to live in amity and to maintain peace, yet must she not look for that at my hands; that otherwise I would as she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity, for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress self approve my wisdom. Let her therefore measure my case as her own, and so will I be here. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wishes me most good. I have now disclosed to you all my mind, and require you to let it be known to your sovereign. My meaning unto her is plain, and so shall my dealing be. I know how well she is worthy, and do so esteem her; and therefore I will thus much say more, that as there is none nearer unto her of

kin than I am, nor none more worthy to whom I may bind myself; so is there none to whom with better will I desire to be beholding than unto her, or to do anything that may be with my honour."

After some conversation Mary continued—"I am a fool so long to talk with you. You are too subtle for me to deal with. I protesting, upon my honesty, that my meaning was truly to nourish a perpetual amity between your majesty and her, which could not be done but by honest means. How much better were it," said she, "that we two, being queens, so near of kin, neighbours, and living in one, we should be friends, and live together like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both. And to say that we may, for all that, live friends; we may say and promise what we will, but it will pass our power. You repute us poor, but yet you have found us cumbersome people; we have had loss; you have taken skaith. Why may it not be between my sister and me, that we, living in peace and assured friendship, may give our minds, that some as notable things may be wrought by us women, as by our predecessors have been before? Let us seek this honour against some other (rather), than fawte and debate amongst ourselves. I asked her grace if she would be content one day, whenever it were, to give her assistance for the recovery of Calais? At this question she laughed, and said, 'Many things must pass between my good sister and me before I can give you an answer; but I believe to see the day, that all our quarrels shall be over; and assure you that if we (they) be not, the fault shall not be in me.'"

On another occasion Mary expressed herself still more warmly respecting Elizabeth *. She said, "Let the world say, let men suppose, let reports run, she will be most assuredly hers, without suspicion of anything that ever can fall out between them that shall alter her mind."

LETTER VIII.

Mary—Darnley—Bothwell—Leicester—Elizabeth—Matrimonial Projects.

No one, whose mind is free from prejudice, can contemplate without sympathy Mary's buoyant love of life; her poetic spirit; her noble thirst for action; the brilliant prospects which the future held out to her. The more profound is the sorrow, the more deeply tragic the feeling that arises, when we see how seduction from without, and intrinsic levity, gradually envelop the bright form of the innocent woman, or dignified queen, in darker and darker clouds, till, after the lapse of only two short years, she is marked as a shameless criminal, and hurled from the throne. Here the poet has ample—hitherto unused—materials to purify and exalt the soul,—materials from which the historian may, with the resistless eloquence of nature and truth, derive the most impressive lessons, to awe, to instruct, and to warn. This, however, is not now my task; my immediate business is accurately to communicate the numerous lately-discovered accounts, in chronological order.

* Randolph's Report of 8th of March, 1565. Scotch Correspondence, packet 6.

It is only by proceeding in this manner that we are enabled to conceive how one step led to another; how one day influenced the other, and how sentiments and objects gradually changed their form. The scattered and isolated features will, in the end, combine in one picture, and no opinion be forced on the reader by me, but every means afforded him to form an opinion for himself, or to confirm or reject, according to his own conviction, the observations that I have here and there made. The matrimonial affairs of Mary, and her relation to Elizabeth, are the centre on which the subsequent events turn; though we are not wholly without explanation of other co-operating, subordinate causes.

RANDOLPH TO CECIL*.

"April 10th and June 3rd, 1563.

"Catherine of Medicis endeavours to draw away Mary from Elizabeth, and writes more circumstantially than ever. It seemeth by some passages of speech, that the queen-mother had formerly offended her. She doubteth what will be the issue of this desire of the queen to govern all alone.

"On the 26th of May she herself, accompanied with all her nobles, and about thirty of the chosen and picked ladies that are in this realm, came to the Parliament-house. Her robes upon her backe, and a rich crown upon her head. The Duke (of Chatellerault) next before her, bore the regal crown; the Earl of Argyle the sceptre, and Lord Mar the sword. She made an oration unto her people. She wrote it in French, but pronounced it in English with a very good grace.

* Cod. Harl. 4645. Maria Stuart, State-paper Office, vol. vii.

"We hear that the Earl of Bothwell is at liberty, as it is said, upon his faith. I think it the best way to make him a very stark-naked naughty beggar. His substance is consumed for more than twenty days since, saving a Portugal piece, which he received for a token out of the north, from a gentlewoman, that if ever she be a widow, should never be my wife."

RANDOLPH TO CECIL*.

"March 8th and 31st, 1563.

"Queen Mary said to me, the remembrance of her late husband is yet so fresh in her mind, that she cannot think of any other marriage.

"Many exertions have been made for her marriage with Darnley, which neither she liked nor ever determined to match with that race. This I know from persons who know most among us."

After Elizabeth had recommended the Earl of Leicester, Randolph writes to Cecil, on the 7th of November, 1564:—

"Mary suspects that Elizabeth is unwilling to have her match either with Austria or the Infant of Spain †, for having a purpose for them herself, because France is too young, as that could be her choice; or else that she maketh offer of the Lord Robert, that if she accept, the falling off may be of his part, and her acceptation make him more worthy of herself, to content the world."

Five days later, on the 12th of November, 1564‡,

* Scotch Correspondence, packet 6.

† Cod. Harl. 4645. A marriage of Mary to the Infant of Spain appeared very dangerous to Elizabeth and all the Protestants. Memorias de l'Academia, vol. vii. p. 299.

‡ Loc. cit.

Randolph makes a similar report to Elizabeth, and says, among other things: "Considering your majesty's own favours towards Lord Robert, therefore it is unlikely that you will depart with him to any other, wherein she should be plainly abused if she gave consent thereto. And the most grievous of all is this, that if, after many persuasions, she should be brought to yield to consent to your desire, touching the Lord Robert, then your majesty might, after her example, be willing to take him yourself, to persuade such of your realm as misliked the same, that you should marry him yourself."

About this time the plan, formerly rejected, of marrying Mary to Darnley, was again resumed, and a wish expressed that Elizabeth might recommend him. Randolph remarks, however, that he, being a Catholic, this plan might alienate many Scotch Protestants from the queen of England. He then continues—"I hear daily complaints of this sort; and many are so frightened with apprehension of that match (with Darnley), that they are designing to leave their country; others to oppose it with all their might; others are for enduring it patiently, and to leave the event to God. The coming hither of my Lady Lenox and her son Darnley is expected."

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned difficulties, conferences on the marriage of Mary with Leicester were opened on the 23rd of November, 1564*, between the Earl of Bedford and Randolph on the one hand, and Murray and Lethington on the other. Murray highly extolled Leicester, but observed, that he being only an Earl, was not a suitable match for

* Cod. Harl. 4645.

his queen. That Elizabeth had, indeed, proposed him, but had not entered further into the subject for a long time, so that they did not know how they stood. "That unless it seemed good to Elizabeth to deal more frankly, and to give further signification of her mind than hitherto she had done, neither she in honour can assent, nor we in duty persuade her to it as otherwise we would be glad."

Randolph replied, that the Scotch would rather have Leicester than Don Carlos, Orleans, Ferrara, &c.; "so that your majesty's advice" (he continues) "had been well marked, there was no cause why he should think that you sought only your own commodity, and not his sovereign's advantage. To offer my Lord Robert as he was, only Earl of Leicester, I thought was not your majesty's mind; but to utter what you would do for him in respect to kindred, good amity, and liking of her majesty, that I believed you would not, and that nobody would have you to do, unless something proceeded from Mary, whereby your majesty might have some understanding, conjecture, or at least some inkling, how your offer should be embraced, and before that were done, we could not find it reasonable that you should proceed any further. And when he (Murray) alleged generalities and uncertainties in your answer, I said that your majesty had already passed these bounds, in offering yourself to deal with her as a sister, and with him as a near kinsman, or nephew. I desired them to weigh well these words, and to consider to what end they tended. When they asked what was proffered at this time more than before? I said, no small testimony of goodwill, notwithstanding the small regard had unto

your offers, you were continually in the same mind, to do her and her country good.

"After some discourse, why the matter did not advance, as the decision depended upon their (Murray's and Lethington's) counsel, they alleged fear and doubt in themselves. I told them they needed not do so, having power with the queen to do what they would, having credit to do what they list, and their queen's assurance she would consent to what they found good. But as boldly and frankly they had spoken, so I desire, without offence, to have another, which is, that if they think by finesse, policy or practice, to wring anything out of your majesty, they deceive themselves.

"After table the deliberations were continued, and Murray said, merrily, 'What meaneth this? Can we find any means to bring anything to pass to keep these queens together?' The answer was, it stayed in them. 'Why,' said he, 'you ever offer us only one man, and take away our liberty in choice. It is good for queens to know that they have their will, and may not be persuaded to yield to that they will not.'"

Lethington thought that Elizabeth should leave the choice of a husband free, with some restrictions, and give certain assurances respecting the succession to the English crown. Being asked which of the competitors was the most agreeable to them, they avoided giving an answer, and merely said, Mary must marry, and the matter be at length brought to a conclusion; if Elizabeth would do something considerable for Leicester, they would recommend him to Mary.

The expectation of the English commissioners,

that the Scotch would name Darnley, failed, though the plan of marrying Mary to him was now prosecuted by some with more eagerness than before; and Randolph was induced to repeat his remark*, that Elizabeth, by supporting it, would lose her Scotch friends.

On the 16th of December, 1564, Cecil was induced to write a long letter to Murray and Lethington against this marriage. About the same time the Puritans (perhaps through fear of a Catholic king) got a law passed, that every one who should attend mass out of the queen's chapel, should lose his estates and his life.

LETTER IX.

Elizabeth's Matrimonial Projects—Charles IX.—Charles of Austria—Leicester.

MANY persons have believed that Elizabeth, while she proposed the Earl of Leicester to Queen Mary, had serious intentions of marrying him herself; I cannot accede to this opinion. The idea certainly often crossed her mind; she played with it, if I may so express myself, but her general fear of any marriage, and, above all, her love of liberty and complete independence, soon cast that plan, like all others, into the background. The recommendation of Leicester to Mary was certainly more seriously meant; for, to say nothing of the vanity of giving her rejected suitor to a queen for a husband, she

* Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vii. Randolph's Report of the 14th of December, 1564.

probably wished still more that a king dependent upon her should reign in Scotland. For the better understanding of my former letter, as well as of those that follow it, it may be suitable to insert here the most essential parts of my 53rd letter from Paris.

Mr. Foys, the French ambassador, who resided in England and Scotland from 1564 to 1566, had been instructed by Catherine de Medicis to bring about, if possible, a marriage between Charles IX. and Elizabeth; or, if this should fail, to favour the wishes and pretensions of Leicester, in order that no foreign powerful prince might become king of England. According to Foys' report (without a date), Elizabeth answered*, "I feel, on the one hand, much honoured by the king's offer; on the other hand, I am older than he is, and would rather die than be one day despised and abandoned. On the part of my subjects, on the other hand, there is no difficulty, for I am assured that they would assent to my wishes, and they have more than once requested me to marry according to my inclination. It is true, they add, it would be agreeable to them if my choice should fall upon an Englishman; but in England there is only the Earl of Arundel who would be suitable, and he is further from it than the east from the west; and as for the Earl of Leicester, I have always loved his virtues, but the aspiration to greatness and honour which is in me, could not suffer him as a companion and a husband. My neighbour," (Mary Stuart,) added the queen, smiling, "is younger than I am, she will, perhaps, please the

* This conversation was in the year 1565.

king better*." To this the ambassador replied, "This was never contemplated, because she was the wife of his brother." "Several persons," said Elizabeth on this, "among others, Lethington, have tried to persuade me that such a plan existed; I was, however, sensible that there was nothing in it."

Some days after, Elizabeth again sent for the ambassador, and said to him, that she saw three difficulties in this project of marriage:—First, dissimilarity of years, which made her apprehend that the king would become discontented with her and despise her; and even should this not happen immediately, yet it might in twelve or fifteen years, and would even then shorten her life. Secondly, the king could not reside in England, nor she in France. Thirdly, the English fear the power and influence of the French. Monsieur de Foys endeavoured to refute these arguments, but Elizabeth protracted the negotiation, and at length broke it off entirely.

Soon afterwards, on the 22nd of August, 1565, De Foys wrote to Queen Catherine:—"Conformably with your orders, to favour the Earl of Leicester in all respects, I told Queen Elizabeth that she could do nothing better for the welfare, tranquillity, and satisfaction of her kingdom and her subjects, than by marrying one of the great men of England. That she would, besides, wrong the king and your majesty if she chose any other foreign prince, inasmuch as her refusal to marry the king was chiefly founded on the argument, that a foreign sovereign

* On the 6th of November, 1564, Mary Stuart mentions a plan to marry her to the Prince of Condé; and in November, 1565, she had applied to Philip II. for aid, in case she should be attacked by her subjects.—Granvella Memoirs, vols. xvi. and xxi., p. 125.

would be unwelcome to the English." Elizabeth answered very politely:—"I am not yet determined whom I shall marry, but, whoever he may be, even were he a man of no great importance, he would acquire much power by the marriage, and be able, if he has a mind, to execute dangerous plans. I have, therefore, resolved not to give up to my future husband any portion of my power, property, and revenues. Though you advise me to choose one of my subjects, I shall not follow your advice in case I marry. If, however, I think of marrying, it is as if some one were tearing my heart from my body, so averse am I to it by nature; and nothing but the welfare of my people could compel me to it." At the conclusion of the conversation, Elizabeth gave the ambassador to understand, that if she pleased, she could marry a king (the King of Sweden), or a powerful prince, to awe France. She also complained that Charles IX. took the part of Scotland, while Darnley wrote her submissive letters, and asked her protection.

About three months later, on the 27th of November, 1565, Foys writes:—"The friendship and favour of the queen towards the Earl of Leicester increases daily, so that even his enemies become his friends, or pretend to do so; and the earl on his side pretends to return their affection. Cecil told me, that Leicester came to him in his room, and said, —'I have long known your good qualities, your conscientiousness, and your knowledge of business; I have always loved you on that account, though I know that you desire to marry the queen to a foreigner; I will now tell you plainly, that I aspire to the hand of the queen; and it seems to me

that she is not so well disposed to any one as to myself*, and therefore request you to give up all other plans, for which I will always give you my assistance, and not only maintain you in your situation, but take care that you shall be elevated still higher, as you deserve, and as the good of the service and the general welfare require.' Cecil promised to do so, and thanked the earl for his good opinion, and the attachment which he appeared to entertain for him. At all events," continues De Foys, "these words prove how confidently Leicester hopes to marry the queen, for some time ago he would not have ventured to express such a wish. What further confirms me in this opinion is, that when I very lately highly commended the virtues and merits of the earl, and observed that your majesties (Charles and Catherine) would approve and favour these plans, the queen merely answered, that she was much obliged to your majesties, without entering, as she used to do, into the difficulties of the case. I also said, that your majesty would be well pleased if her majesty would send Leicester to France, and that the earl had requested me to represent this to her." (This request was probably made in consequence of a quarrel which had taken place between the queen and the earl. Elizabeth, however, was now angry that her favoured friend desired to leave her.) "She sent for the earl," says Foys, "and asked him, whether he desired to go to France? He replied, (was he serious, or did he wish to embarrass the queen?) that he humbly requested her to give him this permission, for it was

* Qu'il lui semblait, qu'elle n'était bonne pour aucun autre que pour lui.

one of the things that he most ardently wished. The queen replied, it would not redound to her honour to send a groom to so great a prince. Then, however, she added, smiling, 'I cannot live without seeing you every day; you are like my lapdog, as soon as he is seen anywhere, the people say that I am coming; and when you are seen, they may say, in like manner, that I am not far off.' As I well know," says Foys, in conclusion, "how wavering she is in her intentions and resolutions, I cannot come to any certainty respecting these matters."

Three weeks later, on the 19th of December, 1565, De Foys writes:—"Leicester has very much urged the queen to decide upon her marriage by Christmas. She, on the other hand, has desired him to wait till Candlemas, and then she will satisfy him. I know this from good authority, and I have likewise learned, from persons worthy of credit, that she has promised him marriage before witnesses. Nevertheless, if she thinks fit to disengage herself, no person will call her to account, or give testimony against her."

Candlemas passed over without any decision, and on the 20th of March, 1566, Foys writes:—"The Earl of Ormonde is in high favour with Elizabeth, though he has neither ability nor means to maintain his ground; Leicester is, nevertheless, under some apprehension."

The Archduke Charles of Austria was certainly a more dangerous rival, against whom the ambassador, however, endeavoured to influence the queen, by observing that he would be obliged to depend upon her for his subsistence; an objection which, the

French ambassador, Forquevaulx *, mentions, had more weight,—" Charles," said he, " is so attached to a woman with whom he lives, that he will surely not marry the queen."

An interesting letter of the French ambassador, La Forest †, of the 6th of August, 1566, gives some particulars of Leicester's situation and views. " The earl," he relates, " has confessed to me, smiling and sighing at the same time, that he does not know what to hope or fear; that he is more uncertain than ever whether Elizabeth will marry or not; and that if she does, so many great princes are suitors for her hand, that he does not know what to think."

Afterwards, speaking more openly, he said,—" I really believe that the queen never will marry. I have known her since she was eight years of age, better than any man in the world. From that time she has always invariably declared that she would remain unmarried. Should she, however, happen to resolve on marrying, and to choose an Englishman, I am almost convinced that her choice would fall on no other than me; at least, the queen has done me the honour several times to tell me so alone, and I am now as high in her favour as ever."

* Letter, 24th of December, 1568.—Saint Germain, vol. 790.

† La Forest, Dépêches.—Saint Germain, vol. 739.

LETTER X.

Mary—Darnley—Rizzio—Bothwell—Religious Disputes—Elizabeth's Situation—Randolph's Complaints of Mary.

With the year 1565 the number of unknown documents increases, and the events become more important. The influence of Rizzio, who had succeeded Paulet as secretary *, became greater every day. Darnley's arrival at Edinburgh, on the 13th of February, gave a decisive turn to Mary's fluctuating plans of marriage; and the return of Bothwell led to new disputes †. All this is explained by the following extracts from Randolph's accounts:—

"The Cardinal of Lorraine" (he writes on the 4th of March ‡) "endeavours to bring about Mary's marriage with the King of France or the Duke of Orleans; but the queen distrusts her uncle's meddling, and is willing to be directed by her sister of England." Rizzio is active in the affairs of France.

"The queen mislikes Bothwell's coming home without licence §. She has already sent a serjeant-of-arms to summon him to undergo the law, which, if he refuses to do, he shall be pronounced a rebel." It is intended in this manner to drive him out of the country, and I have been requested to write to England, that he may not be received there. "Bothwell is charged by Murray to have spoken divers dishonourable words against the queen, and

* Randolph's Report of 15th December, 1564. Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vii.

† Occurrences in Scotland, 79. Randolph's Report of 19th February, 1565. Cod. Harl. 4645.

‡ Cod. Harl. 4645.

§ Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vii. Report of 16th March.

threatened Murray and Lethington that he would be the death of them both. The Queen of Scotland is grieved of Elizabeth's answer, and mislikes to have any more delay moved *; for she had abused her in spending of her time, and now will not declare her title until she is married."

"There is a very great lack of governing in the rulers, and great disobedience in the subjects†. Contrary to the queen's ordinance, more repair daily to mass to her chapel, than cometh to a sermon. One Muffet, feigning himself mad, entered the queen's chapel, drew his sword, overthrew the chalices, candlesticks, and cross, sent off the priest, &c. At this the queen is angry, and many are glad." Intrigues and parties increase at court, especially since the appearance of Darnley. "They are all sorry that such a guest is come among them, to make their ruler (to play the master). One showed a map of Scotland to Darnley, and the possessions of Murray. He said it was too much. Of this speech the queen willed him to excuse himself to Murray."

"All things now grow too libertine, and the queen taketh upon her to do what she pleases. She would have a liberty for all men to go where they list. She thinks it too great a subjection, as a prince in her own country, to have her will broke. The subjects desire to live in their own fear and worship of God—offer their lives again, rather, to be sacrificed. This kindles in her a desire of revenge, and breeds in others a liberty to speak, and

* Report of 17th March. Cod. Harl. 4645.
† Report of 20th March. Cod. Harl. 4645.

a will to attempt by force, what by other means they cannot get reformed."

"A schoolmaster at Haddington made a play to exercise his scholars against the ministers, and baptized a cat. One of the queen's chapel, a singing man, said he believed as well of Robin Hood as any thing in the Bible. Her own mass, and the resorting to it, such blasphemies as these unpunished, her will to continue popery, her wish to let all men live as they list, have offended the godly. Besides, there are many who desire alteration, all which occasions continual fear that these matters will shortly break out to some great mischief. These frequent debates and controversies between her and her nobles, must needs occasion malcontents, and, some time or other, must break out. When she marries a papist, this will fortify her in her measures. A marriage with Leicester, who is a protestant, may easily convert her, or at least make her more moderate.

"The queen's affection to Darnley is at present known. They are sorry that he is come; they say of Darnley, that in wisdom he does not much differ from his father. The honourable treatment he has here makes him think no little of himself. Some persuade him that he is so loved by many of this nation, that they think him a fit match for the queen. This may make a great impression on a young man who is still at court, and well received by those who are nearest to her. This may induce him to attempt this matter."

On the 15th of April, Randolph continues *:—

"The familiarity used unto Darnley by Mary, gives

* Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vii.

no small suspicion that she means to marry him. She has already so good a liking of him, that she can be content to forsake all other offers, and give up all suitors, and content herself with her own choice. She attended Darnley in an illness" (Report of 29th of April*) "with marvellous great and tender care. Such talks and bruits spread abroad for her doing, that it is wonder to hear what discontent there is presently amongst her people. I speak not now of the common sort, of whom I thought least, but of those of best judgment, and the wisest in this realm, and in one word to say it, nothing in her government is liked. If aught were to be wished but amity, peace, and concord, and the queen's majesty well disposed to try what she might do, I believe the time was never like, nor more advantage to be had.

"Your lordship shall know, that greater reviving there was never in any time of mass popery, than was this Easter at the Resurrection, and at her high mass. Organs was wont to be the common music; she wanted now neither trumpet, drum, nor fife, bagpipe, nor sakers†. Upon the Monday she and divers of her women apparelled themselves like bourgeois' wives, and went upon their feet up and down the town. Of every man they met they took a pledge or a piece of money towards the banquet; and in the same lodging where I am accustomed to lodge, there was the dinner prepared, and great cheer made, at which she was herself, with the great wonder and gaping of men, women, and children."

* Scotch Corres., unbound, vol. vi.

† Sakers (query, serpents?). The expression "she wanted, &c." here doubtless means that she had all these instruments.

The accounts of Mary's attachment to Darnley excited the attention of Elizabeth, and she laid before her privy council the question of the suitableness of a marriage between them *. On the 1st of May all unanimously declared against it, principally because Mary's claims to the throne of England would be thereby strengthened, nay, doubled. This opinion is signed by Norfolk, Winchester, Derby, Pembroke, Howard, Knollys, Cecil, and other members of the privy council.

The assent of Elizabeth to her marriage was not so important to Mary as that of the most distinguished of the Scotch nobles, especially her half-brother, Murray †. She required from him a written declaration, that he consented, and would in all respects support her plans. As Murray made some objections, especially that Darnley was a Roman Catholic, a coldness arose between him and the queen, which appeared also in his dispute with the Earl of Bothwell.

Randolph writes upon this subject on the 3rd of May—"Murray and Argyle appeared in court to bring their action against Bothwell, but he kept away, and it is not known what has become of him." The queen has showed herself, now of late, to mislike of Murray, that he so earnestly pursued him (Bothwell). As Bothwell did not appear, he was condemned in the * * * ‡; and further, the queen would not that the justice-clerk should proceed, which hath bred here so mighty mislike, and given occasion to such kind of talk against her grace, for

* Cod. Harl. 6990, p. 32. Ibid., 4645.
† Scotch Corres., vii. Report of the 8th of May.
‡ A word in the original MS. is illegible.

bearing with such men in her own cause, that that which is already spoken, passeth all measure. So many discontented, so large talk, so plain and open speech, I never heard in any nation; and, in my simple judgment, see not but it must burst out to some great mischief. For assuredly both has she entered in suspicion of a great number of her nobles, and her people, finding so great cause of discontent, as well for her actions, for this match that is making, without either advice or counsel, as for other things, that they suspect, as evil as either of this; besides, her unprincely behaviour in many of her doings, that they are now at the point, either shortly to have it reformed in her, or to give open signification, that that which she takes in hand tends to her own destruction, and overthrow of the good repose and tranquillity of her realm, with a universal misliking of her subjects; and that which by herself cannot be remedied, nor by good advice and counsel in her take effect, must be sought by sharper means to be holpen. This is not the voice of one or two—they are not the meanest that speak it, nor the unlikeliest to put it in execution, if that way they go to work.

"To speak of this marriage to any of them, all (at diverse ways I have attempted to know their minds) is so much contrary to their desires or minds, that they think their nation dishonoured, the queen ashamed, and the country undone. A greater plague to herself and them cannot be; a greater benefit to Queen Elizabeth's majesty could not have been chanced, than to see this dishonourable fault upon her.

"She is now almost in utter contempt of her

people, and so far herself in doubt of them, that without some speedy redress, worse is to be feared. Here so much pride, such excesses in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. I write these things with more sorrow and grief of mind than in any passion or affection to any party. For how can I be desirous that the work wherein I have been a labourer almost six years, with rare sorrow and greater bondage than I have been able to bear, which is to maintain a perfect amity between my national court and hers, should not now be overthrown and quite destroyed; that the good-will that the queen, my mistress, had, through her just desert, gotten among this people, should here have an end."

LETTER XI.

Mary's predilection for Darnley—Discontent—Randolph's Complaints —Rizzio's Influence.

ELIZABETH, to whom, as well as to her privy counsellors, a marriage between Mary and Darnley appeared to be precipitate, and injurious to both kingdoms*, sent Throckmorton, in May, 1565, to Scotland, to dissuade the queen from this plan. Mary, however, replied to his arguments, and endeavoured to prove to him that Elizabeth had no such reason to oppose in this instance, as in case of an alliance with France, Austria, or Spain; that Darnley was not

* Mary endeavoured to obtain Philip's assent to her marriage with Darnley, because it would be to the advantage of the Catholic religion. Memorias, vol. vii. p. 310. She also applied to the Pope for aid against the Protestants, p. 311.

dangerous—a relation to both of them, of royal lineage*, &c.

"I understand" (says the ambassador's report) "that this queen is so far passed in this matter, as to be immoveable, and no place left to dissolve by persuasion, on reasonable means or otherwise, than by violence; albeit the matter is not yet consummate, nor will, as she desires me to assure you, these three months; to which time she will use all possible means to procure your majesty's acceptation and allowance."

Had not Mary been blinded by her attachment to Darnley, she would have then perceived what was hidden from nobody else, and to which she opened her eyes when it was too late. Randolph writes to Cecil on the 21st of May †: "I hear that in words he is a fool; by some deeds, also, to her shewed what his will is, if his power be equal to his furious passions. I will only speak of this, when with his dagger he would have striken the justice-clerk that brought him word, that the creation of his being a duke was deferred for a time."

"I know not," writes Randolph, on the same day ‡, "in what sort to utter unto your lordship so much as I conceive of the pitiful and lamentable estate of this poor queen, whom ever before I esteemed so worthy, so wise, so honourable in all her doing; and at this present do find so altered with affection towards Darnley, that she has brought her honour in question, her estate in hazard, her country to be torn in pieces."

Randolph having further shown what unhappi-

* Cod. Harl. 4645. Report of 21st of May.
† Scotch Corres., vol. vi. ‡ Ibid.

ness and disturbance for England and Scotland threatens to ensue, he continues: "This queen in her love is so transported, and he in his behaviour grown to be so proud, that to all honest men he is intolerable, and almost forgetful of his duty to her already, that hath adventured so much for his sake. What shall come of her, or what life with him she shall lead, that already takes so much upon him as to control and command her, I leave it to others to think. What shall be judged of him, that for bringing of a message from the queen, that was to his discontentment, would with his dagger have slain the messenger? So little he yielded to her desire; so bold he was at the first with one of her counsellors; yea, with him that most favoured his cause, and was the chief worker of that what passed between them. These things, my lord, do move me much to lament her case; this it is that may move any man to pity that ever saw her, that ever loved her; but most of all, I am sorry to see so good opportunity, so great likelihood to unite these two realms together, to be omitted, to the great disadvantage, to the great hurt and hindrance of Christ's true religion, and undoing a great number of godly men.

"Your lordship now sees our hard case; her poor estate, blinded, transported, carried I know not whither, or which way, to her own confusion and destruction of her country, for the love of him that ever I judged the most unworthy to be matched to such a one, as I have known her and seen her to be."

The tone of this sympathising and touching letter is certainly not that of an inimical, malicious ambassador. But, unfortunately, Mary daily gave

more ground for louder complaints and accusations. On the 3rd of June Randolph wrote to Leicester*: "So great tokens of love pass daily between Mary and Darnley as ever did before. (Throckmorton, therefore, had effected nothing.) Within her has wrought so strange an effect, that shame is laid aside, and all regard to that what chiefly pertains to princely honour removed out of sight. Her counsellors are those whom she likes worst. The nearest of her kin, the farthest from her heart. My Lord Murray liveth where he lives. My Lord Lethington hath now both leave and time enough to pay the court unto his fair mistress. Such good favour hath he won through his long travail and late favour that he found amongst you. David is he that now worketh as chief secretary to the queen, and only governor to her good man. The bruits here are wonderful; men's talk very strange; the hate towards him and his house marvellous great; his pride intolerable; his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spares not, also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly, when he knows they will be taken. Such passions, such furies, as I hear say that sometimes he will be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people have to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all, and thought what they can, they find nothing, but that God must send him *a short end*, or themselves a miserable life, under such an estate and government as this is like to be.

"I am sorry that I have lost my good hope, but most of all that your lordship has foreslowed

* Scotch Corres., vol. vii.,

(missed) so good a fortune, where I am assured your life had been happy, and should have here found wherewith to have contented you, if it had been taken in time. This queen is now so much altered from what lately she was known to be, that they who now behold her, doth not think her to be the same. Her majesty is laid aside; her wits not such as they were; her beauty other than it was; her cheer and countenance changed—I wot not into what. A woman more to be pitied than any that ever I saw,—such one now as neither her own regardeth, nor she taked count of any that is virtuous or good. How loth I am thus to write, or what grief I have thus to think, your lordship may well conceive of whom so many times, and for my chief delight hath been always to set forth her worthy praise, equal to any that ever I saw; she only excepted whom I am most bound in duty to honour and serve.

"I doubt not but I shall easily avoid the note of inconstancy, where so great cause is given me to write as I do, and so many witnesses as I have, to testify the same to be true. And I protest before God, I never wrote things with worse will in my life than presently I do this; and but to your lordship alone, I wish that it were not known to any creature alive; and would to God that whatsoever imperfections be in her, had before been known, than now to burst out, to so great a grief for so many men's hearts as now it doth. From whence this proceeded I know not what to judge; and to believe the common reports, and constant rumours that come around, peradventure I should do her great injury, and deceive your lordship in writing of an unverity.

The saying is this, that surely she is bewitched. The parties, the persons are named to be the doers; the tokens, the rings, the bracelets, are found and daily worn, that retain the sacred mysteries."

In a quite similar manner Randolph wrote to Cecil on the same day*: "The Queen of Scots counsellors are now those she liked before worst. Murray lives where he lists. Lethington hath not much credit. David now worketh all, and is the only governor to Darnley. The hatred towards Darnley and his family is very great. His pride in words intolerable. People have small joy in this their new master, but find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or them a miserable life. The danger of those he now hates is great, for (but) they find some support, that what he intends to others may light upon himself. The queen here designs a breach with England, but she would make fair weather, but would join with France. She doteth so much upon her (future) husband, that some report she is bewitched. Darnley says, that if there were war with England, they should have more friends there than Elizabeth."

Elizabeth required Lennox and Darnley to return to England, at which they were both much astonished, and the latter said†: "Mr. Randolph, this is very hard and extreme, and what would you do if you were in my case?" I gave no answer, but desired to know what his lordship would do. "I will do," said he, "what you would do if you were in my case; and yet I do not mind to return."

"At an audience of Mary, I was received in a

* Cod. Harl., 4645. † Report of the 2nd of July. Codex. 4645.

stranger manner than ever." She said that she thought Elizabeth had changed her mind after a representation had been sent to her, and that Lennox and Darnley, even if she gave them permission, would hardly return to England.

"Darnley's behaviour is such, that he is now contemned of all men, even by those who were his chief friends. What shall become of him I know not; but it is greatly *to be feared that he can have no long life among this people.* The queen herself being of better understanding, seeks to frame and fashion him to the temper of her subjects. No persuasion can change that what custom has made natural to him. He is reckoned proud, disdainful, and suspicious; which kind of men this soil, of any other, can worse bear. Towards the queen herself I saw never men's minds so greatly altered; you may say almost to utter contempt of her behaviour; without the fear of God, princely majesty, or care that she ought to have about her subjects and country.

"The queen is now in suspicion of all men; her court is kept very secret; the dinner seldom abroad, as she was wont, but either in her own chamber, or with Darnley, whose lodgings join to hers, and a private passage between them. Lord Robert, now Earl of Orkney, is misliked by the queen, but keeped in by Darnley, whom he serves with cap in hand.

"My whole credit at this court is utterly decayed; all the time I have been at S. Johnston, whoever kept company with me was noted, and some were openly forbidden to converse with me. So some

who formerly used to come at noon, came at midnight.

"Murray is grieved to see the extreme folly in his sovereign; he laments the state of the country that tendeth to utter ruin. I expect but little good to those that are the occasion of these great alterations that lately are come amongst us; which so great appear in this queen from what she was, as she is not known to be the same; and (before God) seemeth to be in either face, countenance, and majesty, that men think she has a misliking of her own doings, and (before God) so much to be pitied and lamented, that I never behold her but I am grieved in my heart, and sorrow to see her, as I do, far from her accustomed government of herself in all cases."

LETTER XII.

Darnley against Murray—Persecution of the Protestants—Mary against Elizabeth—Dispute on the Marriage with Darnley—Darnley's Threats.

THE doubts and the discontent, which daily grew stronger in Scotland, had not their foundation merely in the question of the marriage, but rather who should return or lose his influence; what religious persuasion should predominate; and what conduct should be observed towards France and England. The next reports of Randolph throw further light upon these subjects. Thus he writes on the 4th of July, 1565 *:—"Darnley and Mary entertain the greatest suspicion of Murray and Argyle,

* Cod. Harl., 4645.

though the latter assert their entire innocence. Many humble letters have been written and good advice given to the queen; the dangers laid before her eyes, and acquainted her with her weakness, if any thing be attempted against her, either from abroad or at home. These things move her grace nothing, nor are her intents so quietly keeped within herself, but they burst out, and are known abroad, and inflame the differences daily. The lords are determined to stand upon their guard, and not to come to court; but so well guarded as they may be able to defend themselves. It is resolved, that when any thing should be attempted against their religion or * * * * † amity, they will oppose it with all their force. If any of them should fall in the enemy's hands, he shall be delivered by the rest. 'Tis evident that their (her?) intention is to persecute those of the (Protestant) religion, by what she speaks openly, and by what they know of her devices and counsels, of her messages, offers, and promises. But yesterday she fully declared her mind and soul. She gave order to commit to close prison four of the chief Protestant men, of great honesty and good wealth, which made such an alarm, that the queen sent to seek her friends in whom she trusts. These four have all retired, but their houses are all locked up, and their wives and children put out of them. The inhabitants begin already to carry off their chiefest goods; and they wish that their best furniture was at Berwick, where they would think it more safe than in the castle of Edinburgh."

† Here is a blank which should probably be filled up with the name of Elizabeth.

About the same time Mary declared it* was a calumny that she intended to destroy the Protestant religion; yet she summoned the vassals quickly to send men, because the circumstances were dangerous, and it might "happen to us to have to do with our old enemies."

This declaration, however, by no means allayed the people's apprehensions, and that by "old enemies" she meant the English could be the less doubted, because many discontented Protestants had certainly applied to Elizabeth for support, who accordingly, on the 10th of July †, gave the following instructions to Randolph:—"I will support religion if it should be in danger, but consequently uphold the sovereign's estate: you shall make to her sincere representations upon her dangers and errors, and when it seemed by your writing that the nobility are determined to keep great force for their defence, we are of opinion, that hereby the queen takes much suspicion of their intentions, and by this they shall be driven to greater charges than is expedient. Upon which you shall do well, as you see cause, to give them advice; neither to make greater expense than their security makes necessary, nor less, which may bring danger."

According to a Report of the 16th of July, Mary answered to Randolph's representations ‡:—"I thought not to stay longer (in the affair of my marriage) upon her (Elizabeth's) fair words, but, being free as she is, I would stand to my own choice; for if Elizabeth had used me as I trusted she would have done, she cannot have a daughter of her own that

* Cod. Harl., 4645. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

would have been more obedient to her than I would have been; and yet desire to live in that peace and amity with her that I did formerly. Let not her be offended with my marriage no more than I am with hers; and, for the rest, I will abide such fortune as God will send me. I know," said she, "that King Henry the Eighth, in his testament, thought him (Darnley) worthy of more favour than now is shown him; but if he shall have disfavour for my cause, I will recompense it, and will seek that friendship that I can, if injury be done to me or him."

Randolph justified Elizabeth against Mary's reproaches, and said that she had often promised not to marry without the consent of his mistress, but now rejected all counsel, and thought of no consequences, merely "for fantasy of a man at first sight, without inquisition of his estate, manners, or behaviour." That Elizabeth had only given advice as far as she herself had asked it; that neither she nor Darnley could found any claim upon Henry the Eighth's will: "That whoever had put any such matter into her head, did but abuse her, which in the end she should very well know. And that I well know, that by other means than my mistress's favour, neither she nor Lord Darnley could ever have foot in England."

Mary again declined the proposal of sending Lennox and Darnley home. To her question, whether there were no other means? Randolph touched on the point of a change of religion:—"What would that do," said she, "that I should make merchandise of my religion, or form myself to your mind's will? It cannot be so. You never can persuade me that I have failed to your mistress, but

rather she to me; and some incommodity it will be for her to lose my amity, as hers will be to me; and yet I will refuse to do nothing that well I may."

"Only force," continued Randolph, "will bring Mary to think of the state and of herself, being only transported with love. It is pity to hear the conversation that is among all sorts of men, as well the Papists that mislike her manner and government of herself, and the Protestants that know the likelihood of God's word to be overthrown, and the well (weal?) of the commonwealth."

Three days later, on the 19th of July *, Randolph writes to Cecil:—"Mary cannot be contend to use† the term 'old enemy' from Elizabeth, besides other dishonourable words, that I know that she has openly spoken within these few days. And I must plainly say that she has so much altered from that majesty that I have seen in her,—from that modesty that I have admired in her, that she is not counted by her own subjects to be the woman she was. She is very poor at present, and has no credit at all."

Elizabeth had interceded with Mary for the lords who were at variance with her, requesting her not to remove them from her, to neglect them, or threaten their religion. Mary answered‡,—"That Elizabeth called them good subjects; she could not esteem them so, when they obeyed not her commands; and so my good sister ought not be offended if I do against them what they deserve. I have remedy enough to subdue them." Lennox declared

* Cod. Harl., 4645.

† Thus in orig. M. von Raumer translates it, "cannot deny having used."

‡ Report of the 21st of July, 1565. Cod. Harl., 4645.

that he could the less venture to return to England, as his wife was already arrested there; and Darnley answered to further representations of Randolph:—"I do now acknowledge no other duty or obedience but to the queen here, whom I serve and honour: and seeing that the other, your mistress, is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but also she may have need of me, as you shall know within a few days. Wherefore to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so purpose to keep."

LETTER XIII.

Mary's Marriage—Elizabeth to Randolph.

If we consider the question of marrying or not marrying, merely with respect to private right and personal inclination, the decision of Mary and Elizabeth depended wholly upon themselves; and neither had a right to trouble herself about the other. But the case is different when we consider them as near relations, and Elizabeth as the elder; and still more, if we look upon it as affecting the rights of the state and the church. The pretensions of Mary to the English throne appeared to be doubled by her marriage with Darnley, Elizabeth's right called more than ever in question, and the Protestant religion more than ever threatened by a Roman catholic king and queen. I allude to these things to controvert the opinion that Elizabeth was induced only by female vanity and envy to her advice and opposition, or that the whole English privy council was merely the echo of such petty feelings.

On the other hand, it is usually assumed that in

all these negotiations Mary was entirely in the right. But what does right mean in this place? Nobody has disputed her liberty of personal determination. Is it then the highest right of a queen (which cannot be separated from her highest duty), to give her hand to him whose smooth countenance has accidentally pleased her? Was it right to disregard, on that account, all counsel, warnings, rules of prudence and forebodings, which were but too soon and too bitterly fulfilled? I will not, however, anticipate the course of events.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley was not to be prevented: but in the impending troubles ensuing from it, what might and ought to be the conduct of Elizabeth, was a question of the highest importance. Her ideas and those of Cecil appear, from the secret instructions which Randolph received to guide his conduct. They are as follows *:—

"We have seen out of your letters, from the 4th and 6th of this month, by which we perceive, to our no small grief, appearance of troubles and noise in that nation, if God do not the same direct to a better end, as we hope he will: the rather, considering we cannot judge that the lords there, with whom the queen is moved to be offended, have any intention but to the whole surety and honour of the queen their sovereign. For otherwise we would not endure to allow them. If ye shall find occasion to speak with the queen, you may say that we, hearing by common report, and specially by means of such as come in her name hither to the French ambassador, how troublesome the estate of that realm begins to be, we do pity the same, and would have let her understand our compassion and advice, but for two causes.

* Scotch Corres., vol. vii. Order of the 10th of July.

The one is, that her late dealing with us, to proceed in this sort with her marriage, without our knowledge and consent; the other, that at this time she should think us willing to intermeddle in her affairs without her own consent: and if these two causes had not been, we should have presently made some demonstration of our sisterly good will to her. Nevertheless, you shall say, that we wish her to be well advised how to suffer her council and nobility, and to nourish suspicion one of the other, for thereof can come no good for this realm, nor comfort to herself. And if she shall attempt any innovation, whereby her nobility, that have truly and faithfully served her, shall proceed trouble growing to her state, and peril to themselves, we let her to understand, that she is evil-counselled and abused therein. Whereof, notwithstanding the causes of the offences given us, we cannot but give her warning.

"In like manner, when ye shall speak with those of her nobility with whom she is offended, you shall let them know what advice we have willed to give the queen their sovereign, and in what sort. And for their part, so long as they shall intend nothing than to maintain the truth in religion to the honour of God, and consequently their sovereign's estate, with good advice and counsel; and, thirdly, nourish the amity and concord between these two realms, we shall allow them, and so esteem of them, as in all just and honourable causes they shall find us to have regard to their estate and continuance: and because such great matters are meetest to be remedied in the beginning, and before they take root, we wish that they should cause the queen to understand

plainly the sincerity of their intention, and to be earnestly warned not to receive counsel of such as only regard their own private estates; and to offer to her all manner of service by counsel and advice, in such sort and place, as they may be safe of the trapping (treachery) of their private adversaries. And in this sort, if they shall with one accord proceed both dutifully and plainly, it is to be hoped that God will open her eyes to behold their sincerity, truth, and honour.

"And yet, in the mean time, whilst she may be abused with contrary counsellors, we wish that the nobility should so forbear to resort in companies together, that they should not be subject to be trapped in any other place by their adversaries. Finally, you shall assure them, that if they, doing their duties as becometh loyal and honourable men, shall by malice and practice be forced to any inconvenience, they shall not find lack in us to regard them in their trouble. And as we shall hear further from you, so shall we impart more of our mind, to be declared to them in this cause."

This may suffice as a supplement to Elizabeth's directions to Randolph given above.

Impatient of all delay, and in the persuasion that an energetic resolution is the best means of putting an end to all objections, Mary married her cousin Darnley on the 29th of July, 1565*.

* This is usually taken to be the day. Birrel's Diary has the 25th of July; and Randolph writes to Elizabeth on the 16th of July: "On Monday, the 9th of July, Mary was privately married in her palace to Darnley. Only seven persons were present. They slept in Lord Seton's house. This has been learnt from a priest who was present at the mass."—Scotch Corres., vol. vii. Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, places the marriage on the 29th of July, and ob-

That Elizabeth would be dissatisfied was a matter of course. When the French ambassador, M. De Foys, found her about this time at chess *, he said to her,—"This game is an image of the words and actions of men: if, for instance, we lose a pawn, this seems a trifle, and yet it often occasions the loss of the whole game." The queen answered, "I understand you: Darnley, it is true, is but a pawn; yet, if I do not take care, he may checkmate me." Having said this, she left off playing, complained much of the disloyalty of the Earl of Lennox and of his son, and manifested her intention to treat them with rigour, if possible.

LETTER XIV.

Dispute between Darnley, Mary, and Murray—Mary against Elizabeth—Dissatisfaction with Mary—Mary's hatred of Elizabeth and Murray.

THOUGH the brilliant hopes with which marriages are concluded are too often not completely fulfilled, yet the change is usually gradual, and in general a consequence of subsequent unexpected and unknown circumstances. It was the bitter, though not unmerited, fortune of Mary, that her marriages were not succeeded by a happy year, by some happy months, or even a cheerful honeymoon. Only two

serves: "On the same day there was a great tumult in Edinburgh. Mary, however, did not suffer any concessions, in favour of the Protestant religion, to be extorted from her."—Memorias, vol. vii. p. 310.

* Extrait des Dépêches de l'Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, le Foys. MS. St. Germain, 740, in Rauner's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. p. 89.

days after the marriage (31st July), Randolph writes to Leicester*:—

"In their desires they have hitherto found so much to their contentment, that if the rest succeeds and prospers accordingly, they may think themselves much happier than there is appearance that they shall be. So many discontented minds, so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered, in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of in any marriage. His words (Darnley) to all men against whom he conceives any displeasure, how unjust soever, be so proud and spiteful, that rather he seems a monarch of the world, and that (it) be yet not long since we have seen and known the Lord Darnley. He looketh now for reverence of many that have little will to give it him. Some there are that do give it, that think him little worthy of it. All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully. All praise that may be spoken of (him) he lacketh not from herself. All dignities that she can endue him with, are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him; and (I say more) she hath given unto him her whole will to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh. She cannot as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will. As he was proclaimed king, no man said so much as amen, saving his father, that cried out aloud, 'God save his grace!'"

The most serious circumstance in the situation of the royal pair was their difference with Earl Murray and his friends. They were summoned to

* Bibl. Cottoniana, Caligula, B. ix. p. 218.

appear on the 1st August, and a few days afterwards (the 6th) were declared rebels *. If they were overcome, the Protestant religion, the English influence, and all the advantages of the convention of Edinburgh would be lost †: consequently these things could not fail to attract Elizabeth's attention, as much as Mary's marriage. The following extracts from the reports of ambassadors throw further light upon the subject.

On the 10th of August Randolph writes ‡:—"There is little hope of any reconciliation between the queen and Murray. We find that so great matter of misliking hath proceeded from the queen, the Earl of Lennox, and Lord Darnley, towards the noblemen of this country, that there is entered such a hatred in their hearts, and such mistrusts, that credit cannot be had, neither of words nor writings that passeth between them. She remaineth always in the mind to pursue them to the uttermost."

On the same day Tamworth, whom Queen Elizabeth had sent with a special mission to Scotland, wrote to the Earl of Leicester:—"Mary has refused utterly that Queen Elizabeth should meddle to compound the controversies between her subjects and her; and, as far as I can perceive, as mortally hates her majesty as she doth them §. The new king's soldiers and the townsmen of Edinburgh have been together by the ears, and some of the townsmen slain. The king was putting on his armour to have

* Scotch Corres., vol. vii. Occurrences in Scotland, 80.
† Raumer's Hist. of Europe, vol. ii. p. 442.
‡ Scotch Corres., vol. vii.
§ Cod. Harl., 4645. Reports of the 10th, 15th, and 27th August.

parted the fray, but did not, or if he did, came not abroad."

Tamworth was stopped on his return, because he had no passport to show. He had declined taking one, in order not to recognise Darnley as king.

Randolph said to Mary :—" She could be sure of Queen Elizabeth, if she would *." Mary answered, —" It was her fault, for I demanded those things of Lord Leicester that were fit, and she refused. This man that I have taken, he has *a right, a right;* he had none. For your part, Mr. Randolph, you hold intelligence with my rebels, especially Murray, against whom I will be revenged, and should I lose my crown."

" I never heard," says Randolph, in another place, " more outrageous words as the queen spoke against Murray, and said, that she will rather lose her crown, than not be revenged upon him. I may conjecture that there is some heavier matter at her heart against him than she will utter to any †. I told Mr. Tamworth my opinion of that I think to be her grief. He will give an account by word of mouth."

" How Queen Mary" (Report of 22nd September, 1565) " can, with this kind of government, with such suspicions as she has of her people, with the general debate which she has with the chief of her nobility, ‡ and prosper, it passeth my wit to think that it be well. To be ruled and guided by

* Cod. Harl., 4645. Reports of the 10th, 15th, and 27th August.

† Scotch Corres., vol. vii. Report of the 27th August.

‡ The word in the MS. in this place appears like *fonde*, to which the author adds a query, as the meaning is not clear. Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

the advice of two or three strangers, and neglecting the sound counsel and good advice of her chief counsellors, I know not how it may well

"She thought that Murray aimed above his estate when he did her best service. The noblemen that are now pursued are the best and wisest, the greatest friends and well-wishers of the queen my sovereign; so do I desire that this queen may never have her whole will with them. As this man whom she hath chosen her husband, and made a king, showeth himself altogether unworthy of that which she hath called him unto, so do I wish that he never attained unto that which he so earnestly looketh for, and in a manner maketh his assured account of."

"Even France (letter of the 4th October to Leicester †) requires that Mary should be reconciled with the lords, and is in this of the same opinion as Elizabeth, for which reason the queen now inclines more to Spain."

"All things are here so uncertain (October 4th, to Cecil) ‡, that I can be assured of nothing. Sometimes the queen will pursue the noblemen where they are; sometimes she will besiege their houses, and put them out of possession of all that they have. Sometimes she seemeth to be so well content to hear their complaints, that we are in hope that all matters will be accorded."

Not only was this hope disappointed, but Randolph's next report, of the 13th of October §, gives

* The word in the MS. in this place also appears like *fonde*. Scotch Corres., v. viii.

† Scotch Corres., vol. viii. ‡ Ibid., vol. vii.

§ Ibid., vol. viii.

remarkable and unexpected information on the temper of mind, and the grounds of the hatred entertained.

"Whatever can be imagined that in any way may grieve Queen Elizabeth, shall be attempted. Whatever is said from this queen, or written by herself, I know it to be far from her heart. Thus she has now complained to the Duke of Parma of Elizabeth.

"Another argument of her good will against Elizabeth is, that she knowing, and being told by myself long since, what spiteful words the Earl of Bothwell had spoken, as well of herself as of Queen Elizabeth; and having them verified unto her by those that heard them spoken (which in the one, though they may be true, yet in the other are abominably false); yet is she now content to make (much) of him, to credit him, to place him in honour, above any subject she has.

"The hatred conceived against Murray is neither for his religion, nor yet for that that she now speaketh, that he would tear the crown from her, as she said lately to myself, that it was his intent; but that she knoweth that he understandeth some such secret part (not to be named for reverence sake) that standeth not with her honour, which he so much detested, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he has done, or she think of him but as one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief—this is the grief; and how this may be salved and repaired, it passeth, I trow, men's wit to consider.

"With his reverence for all that he hath to his sovereign, I am sure there are very few that know this grief, and to have this obloquy and re-

proach of her removed that is now comen (common?), I believe he would quit his country for all the days of his life.

"This, also, shall not be unknown to you, what quarrels there are already risen between her and her husband: she to have her will one way, and he another; he to have his father lieutenant-general, and she the Earl of Bothwell; he to have this man preferred, and she another. They are in great want of money.

"These things I write rather with grief of heart than with pleasure to set forth anybody's shame; in special such as we ought to bear chief reverence to, under God, if unto him they know their duties."

This report of Randolph's expresses far more clearly what that of the 27th August only intimated*; yet the words are susceptible of more than one interpretation. If we go on the principle (which Randolph, in the concluding paragraph, as much as confesses), that it is better to say too little than too much of such things; and if we do not conceal what is the worst, yet clothe it in the mildest or the obscurest terms, we must suppose that he alludes to what was customary and considered as lawful in the houses of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and was laid to the charge of the Valois of his times. At least it is not probable that Mary should have conceived a mortal hatred of her half-brother, merely because some love-intrigues had come to his knowledge. She treated such things much too lightly. With a passion and loathing of the kind alluded to, too many psychological and tragical circumstances

* See above, p. 66.

would be connected, and a light be thrown on many historical particulars. At all events those accounts confirm the opinion, that all the talk about Mary's chastity and innocence is destitute of historical proof. He, however, who persists in believing all these things to be infamous calumnies, must at least be obliged to confess that Mary had the very worst reputation, and that every pretended calumny was but too generally taken for truth.

LETTER XV.

Murray in England—Bothwell in Scotland—Darnley and Mary at variance—Their encouragement of the Roman Catholic religion.

THE Earl of Murray escaped to England, and had an audience of Elizabeth, respecting which an authentic account in Burghley's hand-writing * gives the following particulars:—

"Elizabeth asked him, in the presence of several persons, if he had ever undertaken anything against the person of his queen. He denied it firmly and solemnly, saying, if it might be proved that he was either consenting or privy to any such intent, he besought her majesty to cause his head to be struck off, and sent into Scotland. He also besought her majesty that all good means might be used to conserve the amity between her majesty and his sovereign, and the two countries; for he testified before God, that in all his advices and counsels, he had no meaning, but principally the honour of Almighty God, by conserving the estate of his religion in Scotland;

* Of the 23rd of October, 1565. Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

and next, the dignity and estate of his sovereign, to govern her realm and people in peace and quietness, and so to live with Queen Elizabeth and her realm. Many times he expressed in his words that it was not the nature and disposition of the queen his sovereign to be in this sort offended with him, but rather proceeded of others; and so, finally, he besought her majesty to be a mean to his sovereign for to obtain of her grace and favour. And to conclude, her majesty spoke very roundly to him, before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear, that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against the prince. For, besides the offence of her conscience, which should condemn her, she knew that Almighty God might justly recompense her with the like trouble in her own realm; and so brake off her speech any further with him."

About the same time (November 5th, 1565) the Earl of Bedford reported to Elizabeth: "Notwithstanding your majesty's good inclination to peace, and the conservation of the same, I fear me much, that here the same be not so effectually meant as it is by your majesty; but that war will fall out when peace is thought to be most surest; for that queen is not only content to continue her evil speech of your majesty (which is such as I am ashamed to write), but also gives ear to blind prophecies, tending much to your dishonour. Whereof I hear, not by any of the parties (Protestants), but by the very Papists themselves, who do much mislike the same."

Now, while Murray complained* that Elizabeth did not sufficiently support him and his friends, Mary conducted herself in the manner we have just related, and applied to Philip II. † for aid, in case she should be attacked by her subjects. In instructions for his Ambassador Guzman de Silva, which were to be kept very secret, Philip, in concert with the Pope, declared himself ready to support, with his advice and assistance, Mary's pretensions to the English throne ‡. On the 6th February, 1566, Randolph gives information of a great alliance between Spain, France, the Catholic powers, and Mary, which was probably connected with the negotiations at Bayonne §. Randolph adds, "It has been signed by Queen Mary, the copy whereof remains with her, and the principal to be returned very soon to France."

Meantime the Earl of Bothwell had returned from France, and was not only received in a friendly manner by Mary on the 20th September, 1565, but also made a member of the privy council ||. "He is considered," says Randolph, "as the stoutest of them, but worse thought of."

Darnley meanwhile followed his pleasures more than was agreeable to the queen. "These private disorders," says Randolph¶, "are probably no more

* Randolph's Report of the 30th October. Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

† Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. p. 81.

‡ On the 26th October, 1565. Memorias, vol. vii. p. 312.

§ Cod. Harl., 4645. Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

|| Occurrences in Scotland, p. 83. Randolph's Reports of November, 1565. Scotch Corres., vol. viii. Cod. Harl., 4645.

¶ Reports of the 20th and 25th December, 1565. Scotch Corres., vols. vii. and viii.

than *amantium iræ*, but his name is placed after hers in public documents, and some that were otherwise drawn up have been recalled."

Randolph's correspondence was interrupted for a short time, because Mary forbade him her court in February, 1566, alleging that he had taken part with the rebels, and assisted them with money *; but it soon appeared that she had acted with precipitation, and contrary to etiquette, and the recall of the ambassador followed of course.

In this interval another English envoy, Mr. Drury, wrote to Cecil † on the 16th of February, 1566:—

"The people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. It is certainly reported there was some jar between the queen and him, at a mert's (merchant's) house at Edinburgh, she only dissuading him from drinking, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words, that she left the place with tears, which they that are known to these proceedings, say is not strange to be seen.

"These jars arise, among other things, from his seeking the matrimonial crown, which she will not yield unto. Darnley is in great mislike with the queen; she is very weary of him, and, as some judge, will be more so ere long. As true it is, that those who depend wholly upon him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her, of him, as David (Rizzio) and others. Some say she likes the duke (Chatellerault) better now than formerly; so some think, that if there should be a quarrel between

* Scotch Corres., vol. viii. † Cod. Harl., 4645.

Darnley and her, which she could not appease, that she will use the duke's aid in that affair. There also have arisen some unkind speeches about the signing of letters. He, immediately after his marriage, signed first, which she will not allow of now. His government is very much blamed, for he is thought wilful and haughty, and some say vicious. So hereof too many were witnesses the other day at Inchkeith, with Lord Robert and other like grave personages. I will not rehearse unto your honour what of certainty is said of him at his being here.

"The queen, both by herself and others, use great persuasions to many of her nobles to hear mass with her. Huntley, Mar, Bothwell, and others, refuse: Bothwell's refusing was most surprising and most displeasing to the queen. He is to marry Huntley's sister, a Prole*, so his brother-in-law dissuaded him. The queen said to Huntley, 'My Lord, go with me to mass. Your father and mother were of this religion, and your enemies are the contrary; I have restored you to your liberty and lands.' He said, 'Madam, I will spend my life and fortune in your service, but as to mass, I desire to be excused†.' Though he possesses his estate, his forfeiture is not reversed." But a few go with the queen to church; the most, on the other hand, to Knox, whose sermons are directed against the mass.

* The word is probably *Prote*, as an abbreviation for Protestant. The marriage of the Earl of Bothwell to Jane Gordon took place on the 24th February, 1566. Occurrences in Scotland, 88.

† La reina de Escocia favorecia abiertamente el partido Catolico. —Memorias, vii. 314.

LETTER XVI.

The Murder of David Rizzio.

GREAT as were the differences between Mary and her husband, and difficult as it appeared to establish harmony between persons whose natural dispositions were so different from each other, after the warmth of passion had ceased, a total breach, and the subsequent dreadful transactions, would perhaps never have taken place but for the murder of David Rizzio. The manner in which Mary promoted this Italian singer, and the insolence of the latter, in consequence of the favour which he enjoyed, are well known. The course of events, as well as the guilt or innocence of the parties concerned, will be the best manifested, if we compare together letters already published and others hitherto unknown.

There is no doubt that the plan against Rizzio, originating with Darnley, or approved of by him, contemplated the use of violent means, and the danger attending it was clearly foreseen. For this reason the king, by a solemn document*, took the conspirators under his especial protection; and with respect to the enterprise itself, it was said, "perchance it may be done in the presence of the queen's majesty, or within her palace at Holyrood-house; and some persons on both sides might lose their lives."

The first letter of Queen Mary to her ambassador

* The 1st or 5th March. Cod. Harl., 4663, vol. ii. Bibl. Cotton. Caligula, B. ix. 212.

in Paris, dated 2nd April, gives the following account of Rizzio's murder* :—

"On the 9th of March, at seven o'clock in the evening, when we with the Countess of Argyle, the governor of Holyrood House, Arthur Erskine, and in the presence of some of our servants, were sitting quietly at table in our chamber, (chiefly on account of our illness, and our being in the seventh month of our pregnancy,) the king our husband entered and placed himself behind us. Earl Morton, Lord Lindsay, and their assistants, all armed and eighteen in number, had so occupied the entrance of our palace of Holyrood that they believed nobody could escape. At the same time Lord Ruthven, with his accomplices, entered, armed and with violence, into our chamber; and when he saw our secretary, David Rizzio, among our other servants, said he had to speak with him. At this moment we asked the king our husband, whether he knew anything of this attempt, and on his denying it, we commanded Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit our presence, while Rizzio had sought shelter behind us. But Ruthven and his accomplices overturned the table upon us, seized him, struck at him with their swords over our shoulders, while others with cocked pistols stood before us; they then dragged him in the most cruel manner from our chamber, and murdered him in the ante-chamber with fifty-sixty wounds. While this was passing we were not alone in the greatest terror, but for various reasons in extreme fear for our own life.

"Immediately after this deed Lord Ruthven

* Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. I., page 163. Birrel, in his Diary, page 66, calls Rizzio a man very skilful in magic and sorcery.

returned, and declared how they were all highly offended by our intolerable tyranny, and we deceived by David, whom they had just murdered; inasmuch as we followed his counsels in maintaining the ancient religion, refused to receive the fugitive lords, maintained friendship with foreign princes and nations, and received into our council the Earls Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors and allies of Rizzio."

Next to this statement of the queen's, I add the account of the French ambassador, Foys:—

"The king," he says, "was eating in a lower apartment, and with him Lords Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others. When the repast was over he sent to enquire who was with the queen, who had eaten in a chamber above their apartment. Being answered that David Rizzio and the Countess of Argyle were with his consort, the king, with the three above-mentioned noblemen and some others, went up stairs to her; he saluted and kissed her, paying her all honour, and not omitting his accustomed caresses. But Rizzio, who had some presentiment of the impending danger, and feared the persons who attended the king, retired into the corner of the chamber, towards the door of a closet; at the same moment the queen observed that some of the persons who had entered were armed, and were going up to Rizzio, on which account she cried aloud—What they meant, and whether they intended to kill her? On which the king and all the others answered that they would sacrifice their lives for hers, but would take Rizzio and have him punished as he deserved. Instead of this, Lord Ruthven drew a dagger to stab him; the queen, however, seized his arm, and saved

her favourite from this blow. On this the king tore him loose from her, dragged him into the next chamber, gave him the first blow with his dagger, on which several others completely deprived him of life.

"Meantime such a noise arose in the palace that the Earls Bothwell, Huntley, and Lethington fled through fear, without knowing the real cause of the tumult. On the following day Earl Murray with his followers arrived at Lisleburgh (Edinburgh?) and waited upon the king and queen, who heartily thanked him, but soon afterwards, seeing themselves surrounded by so many armed men, went with a few attendants to Domkarl (Dunbar?). Others relate that it was not the king, but Douglas, that first struck Rizzio, and that he received fifty-six wounds. There are others who confirm the first accounts in letters to Queen Elizabeth. It is also said that the queen threw herself between the conspirators and Rizzio, and begged they would rather kill her, than so wound her honour and violently drag one of her servants against her will from her apartment. But the king seized him and dragged him away; on which Mary reproached him, saying that he had come to deceive her with a Judas' kiss—that they should subject Rizzio to a legal trial, but not murder him contrary to all law. This was, however, done; and as the queen approached at the moment when Rizzio was expiring, the king again drew near, asked if he had not had enough, and struck him with his dagger.

"In the sequel Darnley endeavoured, notwithstanding what had passed, to convince the queen of his innocence. She, however, is resolved to avenge

Rizzio's death, and has already caused two citizens of Lisleburg (Edinburgh?) and a gentleman to be executed on that account. Rizzio's body has been disinterred by her order, and deposited with royal magnificence in the church, which ill-disposed persons much blame, as well as that she has taken the brother of the deceased, an insignificant young man, only eighteen years old, into her service as secretary, and, as it appears, intends much to promote him.

"Among the causes of the murder of Rizzio two are especially dwelt upon in the letters to Queen Elizabeth. The first, that the king, a few days before, about an hour after midnight, knocked at the door of the queen's chamber, but received no answer. Hereupon he called out aloud and begged Mary to open the door, but in vain. At last he threatened to break it open; and found the queen, when she let him in, quite alone in her room; but looking about he found Rizzio in a closet, who had thrown a morning gown over him, having nothing else on but his shirt. This is the chief cause of the murder. The second was, that Mary positively refused to have her husband crowned as king, and declined to comply with almost every request that he made her. He took it into his head that this was all done by the advice of Rizzio; and the earls and noblemen had similar grounds of hatred for reasons relating to themselves."

Such is the account given by Foys of these events.

The third detailed report was addressed on the 27th March, 1566, by the Earl of Bedford and Randolph to the English privy council. They both declare* that they had refrained from writing till they

* Cod. Harl. 4645.

had made all possible enquiry to ascertain the truth. They then proceed: "This we find for certain, that the queen's husband being entered into a vehement (wrath or suspicion?) of David, that by him some thing was committed which was most against the queen's honour and not to be borne of his part, first communicated his mind to George Douglas, who, finding his sorrow so great, sought all the means he could to put some remedy to his grief; and communicating the same to the Lord Ruthven, by the king's commandment, no other way could be found than that David should be taken out of the way, wherein he was so earnest, and daily pressed the same, that no rest could be had till it could be put to execution. Many persons were now let into the secret, and the third day before the opening of Parliament was agreed upon for the execution of the deed. Darnley promised them many things, and they promised him the (matrimonial) crown.

"He was so impatient to see the things he saw, and were daily brought to his ears, that he daily pressed Lord Ruthven that there might be no longer delay; and to the intent it might be manifest to the world that he approved the act, was content to be at the doing of it himself.

"Upon Saturday at night, near eight o'clock, the king conveyed himself, the Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two others, through his own chambers by the privy stairs, up to the queen's chamber. Going to which there is a cabinet about twelve foot square; in the same a little low reposing bed and a table, at the which there were sitting at supper, the queen, the Lady Argyle, and David with his cap upon his head. Into this cabinet there comes in the king and Lord Ruthven, who willed David to come

forth, saying that was no place for him. The queen said it was her will. Her husband answered that it was against her honour, and Lord Ruthven said that he should learn better his duty; and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the plaits of her gown and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him. But the king loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was (taken) out of the cabinet, through the bed chamber, into the chamber of presence, where were Lord Morton and Lord Lindsay, who intended that night to have reserved him, and next day to hang him. So many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many others, so that he had in his body about fifty-five wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was sticking in him; whether he struck him or not we cannot know for certain. He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the chamber of presence.

"There remained a long time with the queen, her husband and Lord Ruthven. She made, as we hear, great intercession that he should have no harm. She blamed greatly her husband that was the author of so foul an act. It is said that he did answer that David had more company of her body than he for the space of two months, and therefore for her honour and his own contentment he gave his consent that he should be taken away. 'It is not,' said she, 'the woman's part to seek her husband, and therefore that the fault was his own.' He said, that when he came she either would not see him, or made herself sick. 'Well,' said she, 'you have taken your

leave of me, and your farewell!' 'That were a pity,' said Lord Ruthven; 'he is your majesty's husband, and you must yield to one another!' 'Why may not I,' said she, 'leave him as well as your wife left her husband?—others have done the like.' Ruthven said that she was lawfully divorced from her husband, and for such cause as the king found himself grieved; besides this man was mean, base—an enemy to the nobility, a shame to her and dishonour to her country. 'Well,' said she, 'it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt.' 'God forbid,' said Lord Ruthven, 'for the more your grace show yourself offended, the world will judge the worse.' Her husband this time speaked little, her grace continually weeped—the Lord Ruthven, being ill at ease and weak, call'd for a drink, and said, 'I must do this, with your majesty's pardon;' and persuaded her in the best sort he could that she would pacify herself; nothing that could be said could please her. In this mean time there arose a tumult in the court, to pacify which, there went down Lord Ruthven, who went straight to the Earls Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, to quiet them, and to assure them from the king that nothing was intended against them. They, notwithstanding, taking fear when they heard Lord Murray would be there next day, and Argyle meet them; Huntley and Bothwell got out of a window, and so departed.

"Before the king left talking with the queen, in the hearing of Ruthven, she was content that he should lie with her that night. I know not how he neglected, but he came not, and excused himself to his friends that he was so sleepy that he could not awake in due time." The queen affirmed that two

of the conspirators had drawn their daggers against her, which they however denied. On the following day Murray came, spoke to Darnley and Mary, and persuaded the latter to pardon the conspirators; on which the guards with whom she had been surrounded were withdrawn. "All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any, that either she would depart, or not perform her promise to the lords, she contreyled (conveyed) herself by a private way out of the house. She, her husband, and a youth, came to the place, where Arthur Arskine (Erskine?) and the captain of her guards kept the horses, and so rode behind Arthur Arskine till she came to Seton, and thence alone to Dunbar Castle, where resorted unto her the Lords Huntley and Bothwell, and many of the whole country. Some sought and obtained pardon; others, as Morton and Ruthven, saw themselves weakened by this, and exposed to great danger, finding themselves abandoned by the king, notwithstanding his promises, bonds, and subscriptions, and deserted by the rest, except Murray.

"On Mary's return to Edinburgh, all her adversaries were dispersed, the king had entirely forsaken them, and protested before the council that he never consented to David's death, and that it was much against his will, and that he will not protect them. Upon which the next day proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh, the 20th of May, against the lords, and declaring the king's innocence *."

This long report concludes with an enumeration of the great riches of Rizzio, and repeats the assur-

* According to the Occurrences in Scotland, p. 96, Ruthven and his associates were declared rebels on the 2nd of April.

ance that it was drawn up from the depositions of eye-witnesses, and with a careful comparison of all the circumstances.

On the passage relative to the matrimonial disputes between Darnley and Mary, they say in a note—"It is our part rather to pass this matter in silence, than to make any such rehearsal of things committed to us in secret. But we know to whom we write, and leave all to your wisdom."

From a fourth report * sent from Scotland, relative to Rizzio's murder, I take the following particulars:—"The queen was in great fear of miscarrying, and sent for the midwife at eight o'clock at night. The banished lords came to court; the queen sent for Murray, and received him kindly. She consented to lie with the king; Morton and Ruthven were displeased at this, and feared she would persuade him to something that was contrary to their interests; but the king fell into a deep sleep, and did not awake till six o'clock on Monday morning, when he went to the queen's bed; but she would not suffer him to lie down, because he did not come to bed with her the former night."

These several reports agree so far in most of the facts, that I shall add only a few short remarks.

First, that Darnley approved of the violent plan against Rizzio, cannot be doubted. If, therefore, it may be true that he had not consented to murder him on going out, or on the stairs with so many wounds, yet his subsequent declaration was certainly a palpable falsehood. That, on the first entrance of Ruthven into the queen's cabinet, he denied all know-

* Cod. Harl. 4562.

ledge of the matter, as she relates, is certainly not conformable to the truth.

Secondly, that jealousy, and a general belief in the improper conduct of the queen, essentially contributed to the murder of Rizzio, appears clearly enough from all the circumstances; and it is scarcely to be believed that a French ambassador would have repeated to Mary's nearest relations a direct charge of adultery, without censure or contradiction, if he had considered it to be a malicious calumny. However this be, yet,

Thirdly, that accusation—the conversations of the king and queen respecting their affairs, the rage of Darnley, and his lust, his long sleep, and his renewed desire, the midwife, Rizzio murdered with fifty-six wounds—these and other circumstances form such a picture of savage cruelty, and falsehood, of criminal lust and brutish stupidity—such a mixture of vicious and disgusting matters and facts—that few scenes in the history of the world can be compared with it*.

The king was, from this moment, a lost man; and the queen could not have saved herself except by the greatest wisdom and virtue, or rather by the most rigid penance. Now, on the contrary, she was actuated by only one thought, namely, that of revenging herself; nay, this wish was so strong that it overcame her hatred of Murray, in order, if possible, to make use of him to promote her object.

* "And let me speak, to the yet unknowing world,
Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts;
Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters;
Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause;
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fallen on the inventors' heads; all this can I
Truly deliver." HAMLET.

LETTER XVII.

Mary's Anger—Birth of James—The Influence of Bothwell—Neglect of Darnley—Mary's Claims on England—The Convention of Edinburgh—Elizabeth's Proposals.

MARY'S affection for Darnley had long since vanished; and since he had, with meanness and falsehood, sacrificed his accomplices, she could not but despise him as he already despised her. It seemed equally difficult, nay, almost impossible, either to reconcile or to separate them—various projects were contrived and attempted, and they went on from day to day till a new passion seized Mary and impelled her to total ruin. The following extracts from reports and documents belonging to the year 1566 lead us to the decisive moment.

On the 4th of April Randolph writes to Cecil *—"It is written to me for certain, by one that upon Monday last spoke with the queen, that she is determined that the house of Lennox shall be as poor in Scotland as ever it was. The Earl continues sick and sore troubled in his mind, and lies in the abbey. His son has been once with him, and he was with the queen since she came to the castle. The queen has now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords, and now finds that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocence of the death of Rizzio, was false, and is grievously offended that by this means he had seeked to come by the crown-matrimonial. It is reported that

* Mary Queen of Scotts, State Paper Office, vol. vii.

an envoy is gone to Rome to obtain a divorce between her and her husband *."

About the same time Mary, in concert with France, complained that Morton, Ruthven, and others were received in England. Elizabeth resolved, on the 7th of May †, not to deliver up the lords so long as Mary's violent anger continued. She, however, caused them to be told to leave England, and to go to some other place.

On the 19th of June Mary was delivered of a son, whom Darnley recognised as his; at least, on the same day he wrote to the Cardinal Guise—"As I have so good an opportunity to give your Eminence some news of myself, I will not omit to inform you, through the gentleman who is the bearer of this letter, that the queen, my wife, has just been delivered of a son, at which you will rejoice as much as we do ourselves. At the same time I and my wife have requested the king of France to do us the honour of being godfather to our son, by which I shall be still more bound to be grateful for all the favours he has done us, and ready to serve him in every honourable manner. Edinburgh, the 19th June, 1566. In great haste, your very obedient nephew."

Notwithstanding his interest in this happy family event, Darnley is said not to have been present at the baptism of his son, and Bothwell was now more in his way than Rizzio had been before. On the 27th of July, the English ambassador, the Earl of Bedford, writes to Cecil‡—"Bothwell carries all the

* Report of 25th of April, Scotch Correspondence, vol. viii.

† Burghley's State Papers, vol. ix., No. 19, in the Bibl. Lansdown.

‡ Queen Mary, State Paper Office, vol. vii.

merit and countenance in court. He is the most hated man among the noblemen, and thereof may fall out somewhat to his cumber one day if the queen takes not up the matter the sooner. It is said (Report of the 3rd of August *) that the Earl's insolence is such as that David was never more abhorred than he is now. The queen and her husband are after the old manner or rather worse. She seldom outed (goes out?) with him, and keepeth no company with him, nor loveth any such as love him. He is so far out of her looks as that the going from the Castle of Edinburgh he knew nothing thereof. It cannot, with modesty nor with the honour of a queen, be reported what she said of him."

We have another report of the Earl of Bedford of the same time—"The king and queen agreed well together. Two days after her coming from Stirling, and after my Lord of Murray's coming to Edinburgh, some new discord has happened. The queen has declared to Murray that the king bears him evil will, and that he said to her that he is determined to kill him; finding fault that she doth bear him so much company: and in like manner she wills Murray to speak it at the king, which he did a few nights since in the queen's presence, and in the hearing of diverse. The king confessed that reports were made to him that Murray was not his friend, which made him speak that thing he repented; and the queen affirmed that the king had spoken such words unto her, and confessed before the whole house that she would not be content that either he or any other should be unfriendly to Murray.

"Murray inquired the same stoutly, and used his speech very modestly. In the meantime the king departed very aggrieved. He cannot bear that the queen should use familiarity either with men or women, and especially the ladies of Argyle, Murray, and Mar, who keep most company with her.

"The disagreement between the queen and her husband (writes Bedford, on the 8th of August *) continues or rather increases. Darnley is gone to Dunfermline, and there passes his time as well as he may, having at his farewell such countenance as would make a husband heavy at the heart.

"I have heard (writes Bedford on the 12th of August†) that since Mauvissiere the French ambassador's going there, that the king and queen have slept together, whereby it is thought some better agreement may ensue. I have heard that there is a device working for the Earl of Bothwell, the particularities whereof I might have heard, but because such dealings like me not, I desire to hear no further thereof. Bothwell has grown of late so hated that he cannot long continue. He beareth all the sway, and though Murray be there, and has good words, yet can he do nothing."

Amidst these difficulties of governing and keeping in order her hereditary kingdom, or even her own house, Mary did not forget her claims to England, but wrote on the 9th of November to the English privy counsellors †—"Our hereditary right, as has lately been mentioned in the parliament, is the first after Elizabeth, and albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister further than shall come of her own

* Queen Mary, vol. vii. † Cod. Harl. 4645.

good pleasure to put the matter in question, yet likewise we will be judged by the laws of England. We do affectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency whenever it shall please the queen to put it in deliberation."

However politely this letter was expressed towards Elizabeth in terms, yet this unusual appeal to her officers, and this exhortation, could hardly be agreeable to her. Mary's letter had crossed one from Elizabeth, dated the 7th of November, containing instructions to the Earl of Bedford. It related to the baptism of James, and to the affairs of Scotland, and is in substance as follows:—

"As we cannot come to Edinburgh, however desirous we are to do so, and as an English lady cannot well be sent thither during the winter-time, the Countess of Argyle, who enjoys Mary's favour, shall represent us at the christening of James. The Earl of Bedford, who, as well as Murray, and the whole Protestant party, must act with caution on this occasion, respecting religion, will deliver the font of gold which we sent with you. You may say pleasantly that it was made as soon as we heard of the prince's birth, and then it was big enough for him; but now, he being grown, he is too big for it. Therefore, it may be better used for the next child, provided it be christened before it outgrow the font.

"You shall say at a convenient time to the queen, that, as we would be loth, by repeating things past, to stir up unkindness, so we expect she will conceive a great deal of our inward affection in our digesting her strange dealing * with us in the beginning and

* Cod. Harl. 4645.

prosecution of her marriage. Yet we are content that we did bestow our kindness upon her, and will be ready always to augment the same. Though we do not consider a further investigation and decision on Mary's hereditary right to be necessary, we never would or suffer anything to be done prejudicial to her right, and would earnestly prohibit and suppress all attempts directly or indirectly against the same. And that she might well assure ourselves of our amity, and that if any motion shall be made that way, she may trust to our friendship, but will meet with as much favour and furtherance as justice and equity can in any wise devise to her contentation.

"It may be demanded that, according to a late request made to us by her servant Melvil, to cause certain persons now living to be examined of their knowledge of the manner of the last testament of King Henry, our father, you may tell her, for satisfaction of her and of our own conscience, we mean to examine the same, as soon as with convenience we may.

"On the other hand, you may request the queen to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh; and the same being since deferred upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title before all others, after us, our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children; omitting anything in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title as next heir of us and our children. All which may be secured to her by a new treaty between us and her; and for security she may have from us an engagement that we will never do or suffer anything that may be to the prejudice of her title, and shall

declare against any who shall invade against the same. You are to persuade her that this manner of proceeding is the way to avoid all jealousies and difficulties between us, and the only way to secure amity. By denying this demand and way, we may conceive some want of good meaning to us, which we are unwilling to do. Without such provisions, though we are inclined to preserve amity, yet occasions may happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another, which can be remedied but by the proceeding aforesaid."

These remarkable instructions show how Elizabeth thought and was prepared to act at a decisive juncture with regard to her connexion with Mary. The apprehensions which Elizabeth, together with her whole privy council, had entertained of the strengthening of the claims of Mary and Darnley, had been entirely dispelled by the conduct of them both; on which account no further stress is laid upon the marriage.

Everybody will find it to be natural and judicious that Elizabeth, under the existing circumstances, deferred, with a polite turn, a general inquiry into the succession to the English throne. The whole affair was besides of no importance to Mary, as soon as she acknowledged her hereditary right to be only next to that of Elizabeth. Lastly, the apprehension that Elizabeth designed at some future time entirely to exclude her, was entirely done away with by the proposal now made. As soon as the treaty of Edinburgh was explained and completed in the manner above-mentioned, no plausible reason remained for longer deferring the execution of it. When Mary, therefore, did not eagerly embrace the very sensible,

just, and equitable proposal for the establishment of solid friendship, we must infer, that she still continued in secret to place her claims above those of Elizabeth, and thought it possible to enforce them even during her life. It seemed to her to be a loss if, by documental consent, she should put off her plans till after Elizabeth's death, and fetter the possibility of a more speedy favourable decision. In this spirit, the imprudent Darnley said that he and his consort would find more friends in England than Elizabeth. Never were bold hopes more completely frustrated by the faults of those who conceived them.

LETTER XVIII.

The Murder of Darnley.

I HAVE endeavoured in my History of Europe, impartially to relate, with the aid of all the sources, the murder of Darnley, Mary's marriage with Bothwell, her overthrow, and her flight to England. Before I enter, therefore, on any new critical discussion, I will merely lay before the reader many unknown and some already printed accounts, letters, narratives, and reports.

According to Birrel's Diary *, Mary went, on the 20th of January, 1567, to Glasgow, to Darnley, who had long been separated from her. They both arrived at Edinburgh on the 31st of January, and in the night of the 10th of February the king was murdered: "The king's chamberman, John Falz-

* Diary of Robert Birrel, Burgess of Edinburgh, 1532, 1605.

cour, was found with him, lying on the earth, dead, under a tree; and the king, if he had not been cruelly vyerriet (worried or strangled?) after he set (fell?) out of the air in the garden, with his own garters, he had lived*. On the 10th of February the ambassadors of France and Savoy came to the house where the king lay, and desired to see him, but were refused thereof by the soldiers. On the following day the ambassadors parted homewards from Edinburgh; on the 15th the king was buried very secretly in the night, at Holyrood House, and on the 23rd a mass read for him in Mary's chapel. On the 21st of April, an Act of Parliament was passed, that if any man should see any plackets or slanderous libels upon the Cross of Edinburgh, and did not destroy them, he should suffer death; but such plackets were put up in many places. On the 24th of April Bothwell ravished the queen,—*not* against her own will. In his application for a divorce, Bothwell, who had to his wife a good, modest, and virtuous woman, alleged that they were so near of kin and blood, that it could not be a lawful marriage. On the 12th of May Bothwell was proclaimed Marquis of Fife and Duke of Orkeney. On the 15th he was married to Mary, by Adam Bothwell, abbot of Holyrood House. On the 11th of June they were both besieged in Borthwick by the confederates; they escaped to Dunbar, from

* Bothwell's wife brought an action against him on the 29th of April for adultery with her servant Crawford (Occurrences in Scotland). There is a comparison of the arguments for and against Mary, drawn up by Burghley, in the Bibl. Cotton. Caligula, C., vol. i. p. 334, in which it is said, that Bothwell obtained his divorce by accusing himself of frequent acts of adultery with a lady (Revess?) who was the chief negotiator between him and the queen.

which place they, on the following day, issued summonses to the people to protect them."

So far Birrel. From a declaration of the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, relative to Darnley's murder, I take the following particulars*. Lethington and many lords represented to the queen, that as she lived with Darnley, things could not go on; she must be separated from him. She answered, that she would rather herself depart into France for a time, and abide there, till he acknowledged himself and his own errors, but she would do nothing that may either prejudice her son or be unlawful. To this Lethington replied—"We are here the principal of your grace's nobility and council, that will prevent all such danger." To which the queen answered, "I will that you do nothing whereby any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience; and therefore I pray you rather let the matter be in the state as it is abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto; that ye believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." "Madam," said Lethington, "let us gay (go?) to the matter among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by parliament †."

Respecting the murder of Darnley, a Frenchman named Clernault gives the following account, dated the 16th of February‡: M. de Clernault, who brought the news of the death of the king of Scotland, says, that the king lodged at one end of the city of Edinburgh, and the queen at the other. She came on

* Cod. Harl., 4646.

† Here, then, no plan of a murder was spoken of.

‡ The report is in French, but nothing further respecting Clernault is to be found. Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

Sunday evening, the 9th of February, about seven o'clock, to see him, accompanied by the principal lords of her court; and after having stayed between two and three hours, she retired, to be present at the marriage of one of her noblemen, according to a promise she had given him. It is to be believed, that if she had not made this promise, she would have remained till twelve or one o'clock, considering the good understanding and harmony in which she had lived with the king for three weeks past. She stopped but a short time at the wedding entertainment, as it was already late, and the company was beginning to go away. The queen therefore retired and went to bed.

About two hours after midnight, or a little later, a very great noise was heard, as if twenty or thirty cannon had been fired at once, so that everybody awoke: the queen sent out some persons to inquire the cause of this noise. After they had sought through the whole city, they came at length to the king's residence, which they found wholly destroyed, and the king sixty or eighty paces off, in the garden, quite dead, and also a valet de chambre and a young page. The matter having been related to the poor princess, it may be imagined in what pain and distress she was; especially as the misfortune happened at a time when she lived in the greatest harmony with the king. Accordingly, M. de Clernault left her as afflicted as one of the most unfortunate queens in the world. It clearly appears that the melancholy event was produced by a mine, but it has not been found, neither has the author been discovered." So far this account.

Signor Moreta, the ambassador of Savoy, who

left Edinburgh on the second day after Darnley's murder, and went to London, related the affair so circumstantially to the French ambassador, that the latter considered it to be proved, or at least highly probable, that Mary had known of the murder, and assented to the deed (Sabido y aun permitido el suceso). Signor Moreta said that he also believed it *.

In the same manner the governor of the Castle of Edinburgh told M. de Lignerolles, the French ambassador, that the queen had manifested the greatest anger against the king, on account of Rizzio's murder, and had summoned him, the governor, to kill him; and that, if he did not, she would do it herself †.

Meantime a new English ambassador, Mr. Killegrew, had arrived in Edinburgh ‡, had his first audience of Mary on the 20th of February, but returned to England on the 14th of March, to make his report by word of mouth. However, he wrote to Queen Elizabeth on the 8th of March §: "I had dined to-day (probably the day of the audience) with Lord Murray, the lord chancellor, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Bothwell, and Lethington. I found her highness in a dark chamber, so as I could not see her face, but by her words she seemed very doleful, and did accept my sovereign's letter and message in a very thankful manner, as I trust will appear by her answer. Touching news, I can write no more than is written by others."

* Y el mismo Moreta manifestó creerlo asi. Memorias, vii. 320.
† O cuando no, che ella misma le haria. Memorias, vii. 323.
‡ Occurrences in Scotland.
§ Scotch Corres., vol. vii.

What Killegrew hereupon communicates respecting the first demands of the Earl of Lennox to Mary is well known. He then continues: "I see no troubles present nor apparent thereof, but a general misliking among the commons and some others, which abhor the detestable murder of their king; a shame, as they suppose, to the whole nation. The clergy pray to God for the discovery and punishment of the doers."

Though Earl Bothwell, about this time, was already pointed out as the murderer in a public placard, the cautious ambassador makes no mention of this accusation. On the 17th of March, however, Lennox publicly accused the Earl, and two days afterwards applied to Elizabeth for assistance and the punishment of the murderer *.

LETTER XIX.

Mary's Marriage with Bothwell—Her Overthrow and Imprisonment in Lochleven.

SELDOM has Nemesis avenged wicked deeds so rapidly as in this part of the Scotch history. Without repeating my narrative of the facts, I will merely sum them up in chronological order. Three months after the murder of Darnley, three weeks after the pretended ravishment, fourteen days after the fraudulent divorce, Mary was married to Bothwell, the murderer of her husband, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic and of the Protestant Church. Four weeks later, on the 15th of June, she was

* Scotch Corres., vol. viii.

already hurled from the throne, and taken prisoner at Carberry Hills. "At the same time (Birrel relates) Captain Andrew Lammie, his ensign being of white taffetas, had painted on it the cruel murder of King Henry, and (it) was laid down before her, at what time she presented herself as prisoner to the lords. At that sight there was such lamentation amongst the hail (whole) gentlemen and soldiers, that she has defended him who was the cruel murderer of her own dear husband."

The French ambassador, Croc, undoubtedly in conformity with the orders of his court, had neither been present at Mary's marriage with Bothwell, nor acknowledged him as her husband. Soon afterwards he wrote to Queen Catherine of Medicis*: "Madam, the letters which I sent to your majesty by the bishop, are intended to be seen, yet you may believe that I trust him, though I write that you can do no better than receive him ill, and condemn the marriage. In fact it is too unhappy, and begins already to be repented of. On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.' Yesterday, when they were both in a room with the Earl Dommelle (d'Aumale), she called aloud for a knife to kill herself; the persons in the ante-chamber heard it. I believe that, if God does not support her, she will fall entirely into despair. On three occasions, when I have seen

* Cod. Harl., 6371.

her, I have given her advice, and consoled her as well as I was able. Her husband will not be able to continue here long, for he is too much hated in the kingdom, and the people will always be convinced that the death of the king was his work."

The confederacies of the nobility against him soon grew so powerful, that Croc reports: "On the following day, the 5th of June, at ten o'clock in the evening, the queen secretly disguised herself in male attire, and took the road from Borthwick to Dunbar, where she arrived at three o'clock in the morning, having sat the whole way on an ordinary saddle, and met the duke on the road. The danger increasing, they were soon obliged to leave that castle, and suddenly saw herself in front of the army of the nobles. At last (continues Croc), it was thought fit to send Baron Laington and M. de Tresbrouin with a declaration, that the duke, in order to prevent bloodshed, was ready to engage in single combat, for which Baron Tullibardine also offered himself. Bothwell showed much alacrity, and began to arm, but the queen, being informed of the circumstances, would by no means allow her husband to fight with one of inferior rank, who was, besides, a traitor. On this the friends and relations of Bothwell were of opinion, that if an earl or nobleman of high rank offered to accept the combat with him, he and every one ought to ask the queen's permission. This declaration being communicated to the enemy, Lord Lindsay resolved to undertake the combat. Hereupon he laid aside his armour, took some refreshment; then, in the presence of the whole army, fell on his knees, and prayed that God might in his

mercy protect the innocent, and punish, according to his justice, the guilty murderer of the king."

The queen, however, still refused her consent to the combat, and for this and other reasons it did not take place. "But," says Croc, "as the enemies were very superior in number, Bothwell became greatly alarmed, and at last asked the queen whether she would keep the promise of fidelity which she had made to him. She answered, Yes, and gave him her hand upon it. He then mounted his horse, and fled with a few attendants. The queen was conducted to Lisleburgh (Edinburgh?) where she arrived at ten o'clock in the evening. On the way she reproached Lord Lindsay in the bitterest terms for his great fury, referring to the past and to the present, to which he was not able to give a ready answer. Though the queen had taken no nourishment for four-and-twenty hours, she refused to take any refreshment, and retired to her chamber, after she had upbraided the Earls of Athol and Morton in harsh terms. On the following morning she found that she was watched like a prisoner, so that none of her servants had access to her. In the night she went to one of the windows of her chamber and called for help, and on the following day she did the same before all the people, till the lords were informed of it, and endeavoured to pacify her by friendly language."

In another report Croc says, "I expected that the queen would endeavour to appease her enemies, and to gain them by gentleness; but, on the contrary, on her arrival in Edinburgh she spoke of nothing but of having them all hanged and crucified, and still continues in the same manner, which

provokes them to the utmost; for they are afraid that the moment she obtains her liberty she will hasten to Bothwell, and begin all over again; on this account she was conveyed during the night to Lochleven Castle. I told Lethington that they might perhaps have more trouble in guarding the queen than in taking her prisoner; and that I feared, if they found themselves the weaker, that they would seek assistance from England, which must induce the king of France to take the part of Mary. On this he swore to me that they had not yet formed an alliance either with Elizabeth or any other prince.

"Lethington told me that the queen had called him aside to represent to him how much they wronged her in desiring to separate her from her husband, with whom she thought to live and die in the greatest happiness. He answered, we are far from thinking that we do any thing disagreeable to you in separating you from him whom you call your husband. On the contrary, nothing can so much contribute to your tranquillity, honour, and contentment. It is a fact that Bothwell, since his marriage with you, has written repeatedly to his first wife, and still considers her as his lawful spouse, but your majesty as his concubine. Mary affirmed that Bothwell's letters, addressed to her, proved that this was not true. But, added Lethington, we can none of us entertain any doubt that he loved his first wife better than the queen. Lethington also told me, that from the day of the marriage there had been no end of Mary's tears and lamentations; for Bothwell would not allow her to look at, or be looked on by any body, for he knew very well that she loved her pleasure and passed her time like

any other devoted to the world. The conclusion of Mary's speech was, that as she was reduced to extremity, she only entreated that she might be put on board a ship with her husband, and left to drift wherever fortune might lead her. Lethington said he had no objection to that, if they did not both go to France. To which I answered: I wish they were there; where the king would judge of the facts as they merited—for these unhappy facts are but too well proved."

It was on the 16th of June, that Mary was conveyed to Lochleven; and "on the 23rd (according to Birrel) an ambassador, named Villeroî, came from France, who desired to speak with the queen, which was refused, because he would not let the lords see his commission; and he, getting this answer, departed again for France on the 26th." On the 29th, Croc went to England*, probably to consult upon the necessary measures with respect to Scotland. It was certainly of the greatest importance whether a French Roman Catholic and a Protestant English party would again act in opposition, or agree and become reconciled with each other. As many lords had united to overthrow Mary, so on the 29th of June, others, among whom were Hamilton, Huntley, Galloway, Fleming, and Herris, were for having her set at liberty on equitable conditions†.

* Occurrences in Scotland. † Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

LETTER XX.

The Conduct of Elizabeth.

SEVERAL letters of Elizabeth addressed to Mary, as well as instructions for her ambassador, Throckmorton, give an insight into her sentiments and policy. I subjoin the most important portion of them, and of Throckmorton's reports.

A letter from Elizabeth to Mary of the 23rd of June, in Burghley's hand-writing, blames her marriage and calls upon her to punish the murder. On the other hand Elizabeth will show herself to be a good friend, and mediate for her as favourably as possible. With respect to the first point she says*: "Madam,—To be plain with you, our grief has not been small, that in this your marriage, so slender consideration has been had that as we perceive manifestly no good friend you have in the whole world can like thereof; and if we should otherwise write or say, we should abuse you. For how could a worse choice be made for your honour than to marry in such haste, such a subject, whom, besides other notorious lacks, public fame hath charged with the murder of your late husband, besides the touching of yourself† ? Also, though in some part we trust to find it in your behalf false, and with what peril have you married him that hath another lawful wife alive; whereby neither by God's law nor man's, yourself can be his lawful wife, nor your children legitimate."

A second letter of Elizabeth to Mary, drawn up by Burghley, dated the 30th of June, is of the following tenor‡: "Madam,—Our perplexity is such both

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

† This last phrase alludes to the alleged ravishment.

‡ Scotch Corres, vol. ix.*

for your trouble and for the occasion thereof, that we cannot find the old way which we were accustomed to, of writing to you in our own hand, and yet therein we mean not you should conceive, of our part, any lack of our old friendship, in any case that with honour and reason we may express. Wherefore we have sent this bearer, our very trusty servant and counsellor, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, to understand truly your state and thereupon to impart to you our meaning at more lengths, than we could to your own faithful servant, Robert Melvyn, who, although he did, as we believe, according to the charge given him, use much earnest speech to move us, to think well of and allow your doings, yet such is both the general report of you to the contrary, and the evidence of sundry your * * * * since the death of your late husband, as we could not be by him satisfied to our desire; wherefore we require you to give to this bearer firm credit in all things as you would give to ourselves."

In the instructions to Throckmorton of the same date, it is stated*: "he is to declare to Queen Mary how sorrowful Queen Elizabeth is to hear her name so reproached over all Europe; that her husband was murdered so near herself, a few hours after her departure; that little was done for the punishment of those guilty of it; that Bothwell, the reputed murderer, has procured such a strange divorce from his wife, who has an unspotted reputation, who was

* Cod. Harl., 4653. Earlier instructions for Throckmorton, for the 30th of April, in which Elizabeth blames the conduct of the Lords, could not be acted upon in consequence of the rapid change of circumstances. Those which we have given above are also more precise and circumstantial.

put away for her husband's guilt; that Queen Mary maintains and favours Bothwell, that fixeth reproach upon her majesty that has taken such a scandalous person. This she had declared to Queen Mary by letters, whom she never designs to advise further, because she thought it not easy to retrieve her honour. Her near relations were of the same judgment, but her misfortunes have changed Elizabeth's mind; she now designs to relieve her by all possible means. He is to offer her that Queen Elizabeth will assist her both by counsel and force to regain her right, and would not suffer her rebellious subjects to treat with their sovereign so disrespectfully, contrary to the laws both of God and man. He is to ask her what she proposes to be done for her liberty, and to promise, in Queen Elizabeth's name, that Queen Mary may depend upon equal help and assistance as if she was the queen's sister or daughter. Yet it is necessary of the things she is charged with to know the truth, that her subjects may be justly punished, and if some faults and oversights cannot be well covered, means are to be used that her honour may not be quite ruined, and peace may be settled in that kingdom. He has a charge to reprove her subjects for their undutiful behaviour, and assure them that Queen Elizabeth will oblige them by force to grant liberty to their sovereign; that her faults are to be covered by their humble petition and request, and not at all by force. That princes' hearts are only in the hand of God, to whom they are amenable. He is to advise both parties to hasten a good agreement of peace, and the queen to consent to an amnesty of all former crimes, treasons, &c.; except of the murder of

her husband. Queen Elizabeth has a right to pursue those guilty of that crime, because Darnley was both of her blood, and her subject. That she will consent to the punishment of any guilty of it, of what rank soever they are; and if her subjects insist upon any terms unfit for her to grant, she is to appoint Queen Elizabeth judge in these affairs, who promises to assist her against any of her subjects who make such demands. He is to negociate her liberty with all possible diligence, and to persuade her by all gaining arguments, that her son might be brought out of the troubles and dangers in Scotland, to be nurtured and educated in England. He is to offer hostages for the prince's safety, who is to be kept by his grandmother.

LETTER XXI.

Throckmorton's exertions for Mary—The confederate Lords—Bothwell's flight—Mary in danger of her life—Hatred of the Queen—John Knox.

In the first years of the reign of Elizabeth the natural apprehension is every where manifest, that Mary's hereditary claims might be dangerous to her. But after Mary's influence in Scotland, and still more in England, had so greatly declined, the queen of England and her counsellors could not fail to take a different view of the state of affairs. The queen in particular, who had very high notions of the rights of kings, was more offended at the conduct of the confederate lords, than at the follies of Mary; and the more so, as no proof had yet been produced of her participation in the murder of Darnley, and a

separation from Bothwell appeared to be easy. The restoration of Mary by English intervention or military force would likewise place her in a state of dependence, which it would be difficult to throw off, and Burghley, as a thorough English patriot, may probably have dwelt on this last point. Be this as it may, the contents of the instructions to Throckmorton were seriously intended, but met in Scotland with far more, and greater obstacles than had been expected, as appears by the following extracts from the sequel of Throckmorton's correspondence. He began his career as ambassador (Report of 2nd of July*) with the positive declaration: "the queen's majesty did send me into Scotland to comfort Mary in this her calamity, and to procure her liberty, which her majesty did take for so great an indignity to be showed to a queen by her subjects." But eight days later (on the 10th of July†) he expresses his "sorrow that Queen Elizabeth is not so favourable to the lords as he could wish, who can do her the best service."

On the 11th of July the lords wrote to the ambassador in reference to Elizabeth's demands‡: "it was not their design at first to deny Mary her liberty, or to touch her person, but when they came to Borthwick, fearing (hearing) Bothwell was escaped, they returned to Edinburgh. To shun the danger he saw himself in, he carried the queen with him, to give authority to his proceedings, and armed a great number of her subjects, with the design to surprise the lords in Edinburgh. Then came battles, Bothwell's flight, and the conducting of the queen

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix. † Cod. Harl., 4653.
‡ Cod. Harl., 4653.

back to that city. She was required to have herself divorced from the earl, who, by divine and human laws, never could be her husband; who was the murderer of her lawful husband; who shamefully led her captive, and by fear, force, and, by report, through extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled her to be his bedfellow whiles his own wife was alive. They told her they had reason to resent that she had surrounded her (self) with a guard of two hundred arquebussiers, besides her own servants and a vast number of dissolute wretches; so that when any nobleman or other had business with the queen, he was to go through the ranks of these soldiers, and be at the mercy of a notorious tyrant, as it were to pass the pikes, which was never before used in Scotland. She would never be divorced from him; but rather offered to give over the realm and all, and threatened to be revenged on those that were concerned in that enterprise. They said that Bothwell was so powerful, he had got most of the fortresses in his hand, they feared he would not only kill the son, but the mother also; because he still kept his wife in his own house, that he might seize the crown of Scotland. It was therefore their duty to oppose this, and to arrest Mary till she is convinced of Bothwell's guilt. Yet neither in persecuting him, nor in any other thing shall they proceed further than justice and the necessity of the cause shall lead them."

The intimation given in the last words was cleared up in the sequel; and on the following day (12th of July) "Lethington told to Throckmorton * that La Crocque is gone to procure Rambold or

* Cod. Harl, 4653.

some of his quality to fetch away Queen Mary, who is to live a recluse life in some abbey in France. The lords will not hear of any proposals for the queen's enlargement. They say her liberty will prove their ruin."

Whether the proposal to confine Mary in a French convent was serious may be doubted; however, she certainly feared ill treatment in that country, and the French ambassador, Villeroi, had been before sent expressly to hinder her marriage with Bothwell. Throckmorton writes to Elizabeth, on the 14th of July*—"Queen Mary desires above all places to come to England; yet I fear if she comes there without the consent of France, she shall lose her dowry. If she go to that kingdom without the assistance of England, she may be an instrument of troubles, especially by another mate."

It appears from what we have said, that many, even at that time, considered the restoration of Queen Mary in Scotland to be impossible. Another report of Throckmorton of the same day† speaks more at length of the state of affairs. "Queen Mary, he writes, remains in good health in the castle of Lochleven, guarded by the Lord Lindsay, and the owner of the house, for the Lord Ruthven is employed in another commission, because he began to show great favour to the queen, and to gain her intelligence. She is waited on by four or six ladies, four or six gentlewomen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman. The Earl of Douglas, the Earl Murray's brother, has also liberty to come to her at pleasure.

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

"The lords aforesaid, who have her in guard, do keep her very strictly, and, as far as I can perceive, this rigour proceeds by the order of these men, because the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder *, nor will consent by any persuasion to abandon Bothwell for her husband, but answereth constantly that she will live and die with him; and said that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom or Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity to live as a simple demoiselle with him, and that she will never consent that he shall be worse off, or have more harm than herself. And as far as I can perceive, the principal cause for her detaining is for that the lords do see the queen being of so firm affection towards Bothwell as she is, she would use her authority and power to his maintenance, and they should be compelled to be in continual arms, and to have occasion for many battles; he being, with manifest evidence, notoriously detected to be the principal murderer; and the lords meaning process of justice against him, according to his merit. The lords mean also a divorce between the queen and him, as a marriage not to be suffered for many respects; which separation cannot take place if the queen be at liberty and has power in her hands. But, as far as I can perceive, they intend not either to touch the queen in surety or honour, for they do speak of her with respect and reverence, and do

* By this she would certainly have exposed herself to the danger of having her own participation in the crime brought to light. Her attachment to Bothwell was founded in part, at least, on their common guilt; and that if the queen sacrificed the earl, he would doubtless sacrifice her.

affirm, as I do learn, that the conditions aforesaid accomplished, they will both put her to liberty and restore her to her estate. The mass of the people, on the other hand, think of her destruction; the women are most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough."

The duty of obedience to those in authority certainly appears in this case in deplorable conflict with the moral feeling. It is partial, however, to designate the latter as mad; it deserves at least more respect than the selfish prudence by which many persons of a higher class at that time studiously guided their conduct.

"The Scotch," writes Throckmorton, on the 16th of July *, "are desirous to be rid of the queen in some way or other, and the French seem to be better inclined to serve their humours than the English; so that it will be very difficult to manage in such a manner that they do not throw themselves entirely into the arms of the French."

Subsequent instructions of Elizabeth for Throckmorton, of the first half of July †, persevere in insisting that Mary shall suffer herself to be divorced from Bothwell, and be reconciled to her subjects; then she (Elizabeth) will guarantee the treaty. The ambassador shall also take care that Prince James be not taken to France, but rather brought to England.

On the 15th of July, Throckmorton accordingly made new proposals to the lords, but they declared that, before any further resolutions, mature consi-

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix.
† Cod. Harl., 4653.—Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

deration appeared to them to be necessary, and they did not at all conceal how disagreeable Elizabeth's intervention for Mary was to them.

Bothwell (continues Throckmorton *) has been of late with the Earl of Huntley at Strawboggyn, in the north of Scotland, and attempted to levy force, and to make some stir; but though Huntley were holden suspected to those here, he, finding Bothwell in so little favour in all quarters, will not adventure much for him; and now I hear say that Huntley can be contented that Bothwell should miscarry, to rid the queen and his sister of so wicked a husband; whereupon I understand that Bothwell did hastily retire himself away from the house in the night. He will probably go to the Orkney Islands, but hardly meet with a good reception. On the 16th of July †, Throckmorton writes—Queen Mary is in great fear of her life, and is willing to be made recluse in any nunnery, or live with the dowager of Guise.

Two reports of Throckmorton, of the 18th of July ‡, furnish the following particulars:—"I can get no access to Queen Mary. She wishes to have some consideration of her health, in great danger by such close imprisonment. She desires to be sent to Stirling, where she may see her son. Yet seeing she may not expect to be treated as their queen, yet as a king's daughter and as a king's mother. She cannot renounce Bothwell as a husband before he be convicted. She also believes that she is seven weeks gone with child, for then the child would be a

* Report of 16th July, Scotch Corres., vol. ix.
† Cod. Harl., 4653. ‡ Ibid.

bastard, and she by this lose her honour. Knox, Craig, and all the Protestants are her violent enemies, and ground the lawfulness to punish her upon Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and her coronation oath."

A second report of Throckmorton to Elizabeth * enters more fully into the circumstances—"Mary demands that, if not set at liberty, she may be brought to another place, and have some other gentlewoman, her apothecary, some modest minister, and an embroiderer, to draw for her such work as she would be employed about. She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her husband, nor relinquish him, which matter will do her most harm of all, and hardens those lords to great severity against her. She yields in words to the prosecution of the murder.

"I have found means to let her know that your Majesty has sent me hither for her relief. I have also persuaded her to conform herself to renounce Bothwell for her husband, and to be content to suffer a divorce. She has sent me word that she will in nowise consent to it, but will rather die: grounding herself upon this reason—that, taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child, she should acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour, which she will not do. I have persuaded her, to save her own life and her child, to choose the least hard condition.

"Mr. Knox arrived here in this town on the 17th of this month, with whom I have had some conference, and with Mr. Craig, also, the other minister of

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

this town. I have argued with them to preach and persuade unity. I found them both very austere in this conference. What I shall do hereafter I know not. They are furnished with many arguments, —some parts of Scripture, some of history, some grounded (as they say) upon the laws of this realm, some upon practices used in this realm, and some upon the conditions and oaths made by their princes at their coronation.

"The lords still speak reverently and mildly about Mary, yet I find by intelligence that the queen is in very great peril of her life by reason that the people assembled at this convention do mind vehemently the destruction of her. (This probably refers to the clergy.) It is a public speech amongst all the people, and amongst all estates (saving of the counsellors), that their queen had no more liberty or privilege to commit murder and adultery than any private person, neither by God's law, nor by the law of this country.

"Earl Bothwell's porter, and one of his other servants of his chamber, have been apprehended, and confessed such sundry circumstances as it appeareth evidently that Bothwell was one of the principal executors of the murder in his own person, accompanied with sundry others; of which number I cannot yet certainly have the names but of three of them—that is to say, two of the Ormistons of Tyndall, and one Hayborne of Bolton."

LETTER XXII.

Mary's further Endeavours and Intrigues—Ridolfi's new Negotiations and Difficulties.

As long as Mary could be reproached with nothing but levity and foolish passion, most persons were inclined to excuse her: the moment that she formed a close connexion with the murderer of her husband, all esteem vanished, and, from the time when after the discovery of the letters and sonnets she appeared as an accomplice, she had nothing more to hope in Scotland.

Accordingly, Throckmorton writes to Elizabeth on the 19th of July *—"Queen Mary will never have any more power in Scotland. Yet the lords and their party design to prosecute her publicly for the crimes they charge her with. Most of the counsellors are for bringing her to a trial, condemning her to perpetual prison. But the greatest part are for her death, as safest for themselves, because she may escape from prison." Should the existing laws not be sufficient for such a sentence, new laws must be passed, and new punishments inflicted, for such extraordinary wickedness. Knox preaches against Mary, and exhorts the lords to execute justice upon her.

Notwithstanding this change of circumstances, Elizabeth persevered in her former resolutions, and wrote to Throckmorton on the 20th of July *—"Though Mary were guilty of all that the lords blame her with, yet still they can never justify their

* Cod. Harl., 4653.

undutiful behaviour to her: I cannot assist them while their queen is imprisoned." With respect to the idea, says Elizabeth, in another place *, that the queen should renounce the government and go to England, which some counsellors recommend, "and you think Mary herself is very desirous to have it brought to pass, we cannot presently resolve to any certain answer thereto: but wish, if it be moved unto you by the queen herself, or by any other from them, that you answer that you will thereof advertise us. With time we shall give you a more distinct answer. But we find her removal into this realm, or into France, not without great discommodities to us."

It evidently appears from the preceding document, that Elizabeth did not in any manner act against Mary, or desire her coming to England. How little Throckmorton was able to obtain from the confederate lords, appears from a justification of their conduct, dated July 21st, which crossed the above instructions on the road. The ambassador accompanied it with a report *, in which he says, "I spoke to the Earl of Morton, who said, I cannot do for Mary what I wish; but, like all the others, must give way to necessity—the zeal of the people, and to the clergy. Elizabeth must not withdraw her support from us. She must take heed that she makes not the Scotch, by her declining, better French than they would be or should be. You see in whose hands resteth the power—I know the French have a saying, 'Il perd le jeu, qui laisse la partie.' To my great grief I speak it, the queen, my sovereign,

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

may not abide amongst us, and this is not the time to do her good, if she be ordained to have any. Therefore, take heed that Queen Elizabeth does not lose altogether the good will of this company irreparably. For though there be some amongst us, which would retain our prince and people in amity to England's devotion, yet I can assure you that if Queen Elizabeth deals not otherwise than she does, you will lose all, and it shall not lie in the power of your wellwishers to help it, no more than it does in our power now to help the queen our sovereign.

"They be resolved to put in execution forthwith the coronation of the young prince, with the queen's consent (if they can obtain the same) promising her that her conformity in this matter shall assure unto her, that they meaneth not neither to touch her in honour nor in life—neither otherwise to proceed against her individually, by way of process. Otherwise they are determined to proceed against her, publicly, by a manifestation of such evidence as they are able to charge her with. It is not agreeable to the lords that Mary should go to England or to France. This is also to be feared, that, when these lords have so far proceeded as to touch their sovereign in honour and credit, they will never think to find any safety so long as she lives; and so not only deprive her of her estate, but also of her life. Bothwell practises piracy—he meaneth to allure the pirates of all countries unto him. Knox continues his severe exhortations as well against the queen as against Bothwell, threatening the great plagues of God to this whole country and nation, if she be spared from her condign punishment. The convocation of the clergy, too, will scarcely be held without taking up

these matters—for they be very audacious, and it appears their hearts are marvellously hardened against their sovereign."

In another place, Throckmorton says, "when I asked Lethington* the meaning of those words in their declaration—the necessity of their cause—Lethington said no more but you are a Reynard. Bothwell has got five ships, and is become a pirate. Knox, in his sermons, advises to have amity with England, but to have nothing with France, which he compares with the flesh-pots of Egypt, full of sugared poison."

With reference to the recent events and reports, Elizabeth again wrote to Throckmorton, on the 27th of July †—"Whatever suspicion of guilt there may be against Queen Mary, her subjects had no right to depose her. Such an action is contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot. All the examples produced from history are taken from rebels; we forbid you to be present at the coronation of the young prince."

Meantime, Mary had already abdicated, and James was crowned on the 29th of July. In explanation of these events, we may quote, first, an anonymous report by a friend of the queen, which says ‡—"They used all manner of menaces, which they reinforced by their awful and terrible countenances, by which she saw in what danger her life was, and confirmed therein by secret advertisements, sent her by her faithful friends, about what she had to expect if she refused."

It cannot be affirmed, with any appearance of rea-

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid., 4645.

son, that Mary resigned the crown voluntarily; because, for instance, she was weary of governing. The question was only, whether she had made herself unworthy of it, and whether she might therefore be compelled to abdicate?

Throckmorton writes to Queen Elizabeth on the 25th of July*: "Deputies are going to Lochleven to persuade Mary to abdicate; otherwise she is in danger of her life, for her connexion with Bothwell, and lastly for the murder of her husband, which they say they can prove by her own handwritings, which they have recovered."

Throckmorton, in a report of the 26th of July†, says, "According to my instructions, I urged the deliverance and the restoration of Mary. Lethington answered: 'Being in places to know more than you can know, I say to you, as one that would of all ills choose the least, in case your mistress presses this company to enlarge the queen, and to suffer you to go unto her, or if you do use any threatening speeches in these matters, the rather to compass them, I assure you you will put the queen in great jeopardy of her life; and therefore there is no other way to do her good, but to give place and to use mildness.'"

"The queen (he says in another report of the same date, to Burghley‡) has resigned, and James will be crowned at Stirling. I was invited to go thither; which I, however, refused, as this whole turn of affairs is contrary to the views of Queen Elizabeth. Amongst other imperfections in these proceedings this is not the least, that the queen of

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Scotch Corres., vol. ix. ‡ Ibid.

Scots has accorded and signed these instruments and conditions, she being in captivity. And therefore it is to be feared lest, for this and other regards, the tragedy will end in the person of the queen, violently, as it began in David's and her husband's. Now, my lord, I am to seek what to do: for my commission of ambassador was to the queen, who is deprived of her estate; and to tarry here without commission is inconvenient, and to return home unrevoked is dangerous; so, as my lord may see, I have cause to be perplexed, and wish to be recalled; for it is in vain to treat any more with these lords about the enlargement of the queen, or to obtain any favourable conditions for her."

To this situation Mary had been chiefly reduced by her own fault. Randolph, who at the first admired her, added to a paper in her defence, the following marginal note*: "She governed for four years quietly in Scotland, till a change was made through her disorderly behaviour; first with Chastelet, a scurvy varlet that came from M. D'Anville, that was found under her bed; witness Madam Rawley and the old Madam Seaton. Next with David, who of a beggarly minstrel sent into Scotland with Moreta, ambassador of Savoy, was made her chief secretary, and found at supper in her cabin in Holyrood House, where he received the worthy reward of a wedlock breaker: with other such filthy behaviour, whereof I am ashamed to speak. Then the murder of Darnley, the marriage with Bothwell, &c. This has driven Mary from the throne, not the intrigues or enmity of Elizabeth."

* Cod. Harl., 4649, p. 22,

LETTER XXIII.

Elizabeth's orders—Mary's rigorous confinement—Murray's arrival and doubts—Murray and Mary—Murray Regent—Mary's condemnation.

On the 27th of July, after Mary had already abdicated, but before Elizabeth was informed of it, she, persevering in the same sentiments, sent the following directions to Throckmorton*: "You shall again exert yourself for Mary's deliverance; I will then mediate impartially between her and her subjects. If the lords again proceed to the deprivation of Queen Mary, their sovereign lady, of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other princes of Christendom, that we will make ourselves a plain party against them to the revenge of their sovereign, for example to all posterity. And therein we doubt not but God will assist us, and confound them in their devices, considering they have no warrant nor authority by the law of God or man, to be as superior judges or vindicators over their prince and sovereign."

Without regard to Throckmorton's remonstrances "James was crowned on the 24th of July, by the Bishop of Orkney and the Laird of Dun, superintendant of Lothian†. Knox preached; the text was, "I was crowned young." Some ceremonies were used, others omitted. Morton and Dun swore the oath for the prince; Lindsay and Ruthven protested by oath that the queen's resignation was voluntary. At Edinburgh there were a thousand bonfires, and

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

† Cod. Harl., 4653. Report of 31st July.

shots of artillery* in honour of the coronation. The people made great joy, dancings and exclamations.

"The queen," writes Throckmorton, on the 3rd of August†, "is straiter kept than she was yet, for she now is shut up in a tower, and they have none admitted to speak with her, but such as be shut up with her."

Meantime the ambassador had received the above directions; but answered on the 5th and 9th of August‡, that it was quite impossible to do any thing as they required, for the restoration of the queen. It would be the utmost if he succeeded in saving her life, for most were of opinion that she ought to die for her sins, and for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The ambassador was positively refused all intercourse with her.

At the same time Lignerolles, the French ambassador, interceded for Mary's deliverance; but in Throckmorton's opinion‖ he was "no passionate desirer of the queen's liberty, but for fashion's sake."

On the other hand, it was a point of decisive importance what course would be adopted by Murray, who had returned on the 11th of August. Throckmorton writes on the following day§: "As I find Murray very honourable, sincere, and discreet, so I find him not resolved what he will do, nor what he will consent unto¶. Abhorring from

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix. Report of the same day.
† Ibid., and Cod. Harl., 4653. ‡ Scotch Corres., vol. ix.
‖ Report of 12th of August. Cod. Harl., 4643.
§ Scotch Corres., vol. ix. Occurrences of Scotland.
¶ That Murray was already acquainted at that time with the proofs of Mary's participation in the murder of the king, appears in the following passage of a report of the Spanish ambassador in London. "On the 31st of July, the Earl of Murray set out for Scotland; and talking before his departure with the Spanish Ambassador, he ap-

the one side the murder of the king and the circumstances conjoined therewith, which he can like in no wise should pass with impunity; so on the other side do I find in him great commiseration towards the queen, his sister; and yet not fully determined whether he will accept the regency or refuse it; but rather in my opinion he will take it upon him, being thereto pressed by all those lords and gentlemen who have dealt in this action. All which in very deed be the men he doth value and esteem most within this realm; and such account he maketh of them, as I perceive by his own words, as he would not gladly live in Scotland if they should miscarry or abandon his friendship. Neither can I perceive by him that he will do any thing in this or any other matter, without the good consent and agreement of these lords.

"And however your majesty hath been persuaded by the French, or of their doings, I do find that both Lord Murray and all these lords do nothing doubt of the French king's allowance of their proceedings in this action. And, as far as I can understand, Lignerolles' errand was rather for manners' sake to purchase the queen's liberty, than for any devotion they had unto it; which is the better confirmed to me by Lignerolles' own words, which he had unto me the same day of his entering this town. I taking occa-

peared very much to regret that the confederates of Edinburgh had imprisoned the queen, but that the affair of Bothwell had always seemed a bad one to him. That he knew for certain of a letter, all in the handwriting of Queen Mary, of more than three sheets, written to Bothwell, in which she urged him to carry into execution what they had agreed upon, respecting the death of the king, by giving him some drink; or, if there were no other way, burning the house. That though he had not seen the letter, he knew it from a person who had read it."—Memorias, vii., 323.

sion to talk with him by the way; who said that his commission at this time tended to the end to lay before the lords that the king, his master, was bound by these respects to do for this queen, because she is a queen, because she is his brother's wife, and because there is amity between France and Scotland. If the intercession did not avail, the king could do no more than be sorry for the queen, his sister's misfortune, seeing he had no means to command or to constrain them." France will in no case drive the lords to England, or draw the English to Scotland.

Two days later, the 14th of August*, Throckmorton says: "I find Murray much perplexed with the matter, his honour and nature moving him to lenity and commiseration on one side; the assured friendship between him and these lords, their surety, and the preservation of religion, drawing him as far on the other side."

On the following day, the 15th of August, Throckmorton writes to the Earl of Leicester†: "by my negociations I have hindered the lords to renew the league with France; have removed their prejudices against Elizabeth; have prevailed with them to send ambassadors to England; have hindered them from taking away the queen's life infamously; have made her own this as a favour she has received from Queen Elizabeth, and have dealt with the Hamiltons according to the queen's commission, that they might also depend upon her. Now, since my last revocation all things are changed to the worse. I fear that Queen Mary shall be publicly put to death; that the affections of the Scotch nation shall be alienated

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix. † Cod. Harl., 4653, p. 35.

from England; that the Hamiltons shall be reconciled to France, which shall be followed with the sending the young king thither."

In a letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth on the 20th of August*, Throckmorton repeats that the French ambassador has made to the lords all kinds of offers, and that the latter had made various attempts to connect themselves with the king of France. He then continues: "Murray went with others to Loch-leven, and had a first long conference with Mary, in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life, and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect. Next day he gave her some hope of life and preservation of her honour; her liberty lay not in his power; neither was it her interest to ask it. He told the queen that the things that would hazard her life were, if her faction disturbed the peace of the realm; if she enterprised to escape from prison; if she encouraged any of the subjects of Scotland to disobedience; if she engaged the king of France and the queen of England, or either foreign power, to attempt her liberty by force or treaty; and if she continued her affection to Bothwell. He advised her to reform her life, and show no inclination to revenge against the lords, who sought her reformation. She sent me word, through Murray, that she was sensible of Queen Elizabeth's kindness, and was more desirous to live in England than in any other realm."

Two days later, on the 22nd of August, Murray assumed the regency with great applause, and went

* Cod. Harl., 4653.

with Lethington to Throckmorton's lodgings. They told him to write to Queen Elizabeth,*, that they never designed to hurt the life of Queen Mary, but presently it is not fit to grant Queen Elizabeth's desires. When they see more moderation of Queen Mary's appetites, they will be more inclinable to alter their measures with her, for now she is like one raging in a fever. That for their behaviour towards her, all princes had condemned them, as traitors, rebels, seditious, ungrateful, and cruel. They are thoughtless of all that, and will *not* justify† themselves; but if Queen Elizabeth, or any foreign prince, shall, either by force or any other way, endeavour to rescue Queen Mary, they shall be compelled *to deal otherwise with her* than ever they intended to do. They would rather venture a war with England than grant the queen's liberty, who would certainly ruin them, recall Bothwell, the former bad government should again take place. If England would invade them, France would assist them. It was the interest of Elizabeth to assist them.

A week later, on the 29th of August‡, Elizabeth, however, writes to Throckmorton: "The Hamiltons are right, that they will not acknowledge the new government till Mary has voluntarily abdicated. I will do what I can for her liberty."

So earnestly did Elizabeth still wish, resolve, and hope, at that time, to do something for her sister-

* Cod. Harl., 4653. Report of 22nd of August. Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

† That is, they would not disclose the motives for their proceeding by a heavy charge against Mary.

‡ Cod. Harl., 4653.

queen. Burghley, on the contrary, seems to have considered the matter more coolly, for he writes to Throckmorton, three days later, on the 1st of September*, that his embassy has not succeeded, for he has not obtained either the liberty of the queen, or the sending of the prince to England.

On the same day Throckmorton writes†: I am not permitted to go to Lochleven, for there is less to be done there now than ever, and a similar request of the French ambassador has been refused. "As to the acceptance of the regency, Murray said it was now past deliberation; and as for ignominy and calumniation, he had no other defence against it but the goodness of God, his upright conscience, and his intent to deal sincerely in his office; and if that would not serve, he could not tell what to say, for now there was no other remedy, but he must go through with the matter.

"The lords will not yet consent to Mary's liberty. He said the queen's liberty would chiefly depend upon her own behaviour and considerate doing. For if the lords perceive that she doth digest well the bringing of Bothwell to trial, and the punishment of the king's murderers, and if she doth not suffer a wrathful and revengeful mind towards their proceedings; and likewise if the queen your sovereign will so deal as we may have cause to think she seeketh the quietness of this realm, and not the trouble of it, as by countenancing and nourishing contrary factions: then these lords will seek to do all grateful things to Queen Mary and to Queen Elizabeth. But to fish so far before the net, and

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

tell what shall be done then, neither do they nor I think convenient to give any determinate answer*."

When Elizabeth saw that all endeavours in Scotland were in vain, she caused her readiness to act in Mary's favour to be again expressed in Paris by her ambassador, Knollys, on the 27th of September †, and inquired whether it might not induce the Scotch confederates to yield, if England and France were to prohibit commerce with Scotland.

Before any resolution could be adopted, the Scotch parliament had, in December, 1567 ‡, openly pronounced on Mary's guilt, and established or confirmed the new government. About the same time Bothwell was made prisoner in Denmark §.

LETTER XXIV.

Mary's Flight to Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Mary's Flight to England—Letter to Elizabeth.

QUEEN MARY being obliged to renounce all hopes of recovering her liberty by the good-will of her adversaries, she attempted, on the 25th of March, 1568, to escape by a stratagem. "She changed clothes with her laundress," writes Bowes to Burghley ||; "with her muffler (veil) on her face, she passed through all the gates, and entered the boat to cross the loch. One of the watermen, after she had almost

* It seems doubtful whether Murray or Throckmorton speaks the last words.

† Cod. Harl., 4653. ‡ Ibid.

§ Letter from the king of Denmark, of the 30th of December, 1567. Scotch Corres., vol. ix.

|| Cod. Harl., 4653. Letter of the 19th of April.

gone over, would see her face. She pulled out her hands to defend herself, which he saw were too white and fair for a washerwoman, and suspected it might be the queen. She ordered them to row her over, which they refused, and carried her back to the castle again."

A second attempt was more fortunate. On the 2nd of May she escaped from Lochleven *; was already with her friends, the Hamiltons, on the 4th; and on the following day sent notice to the Earl of Murray and his party, that as she was now delivered from captivity, she declared that she had signed her resignation for fear of her life, and promised that, if they would restore her to her dignity, all former assaults should be forgiven; but they swear they will rather die than lose the hold they have got of the government." Instead of accepting this offer, Murray and his friends issued on the 7th of May a proclamation against Mary, upon which, on the following day, nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and ninety barons, united in favour of the queen, and declared a long list of their adversaries traitors.

Words and reciprocal accusations could decide nothing, but only the sword. "On the 13th of May," so says Birrell, "being Thursday, both the armies met upon Goneymuire, beside a hill called Langside, and there met together: on the queen's side the Earl of Argyle and the Hamiltons led the vanguard; Lord Home led the vanguard of the regent's army, and was hurt in the face with a spear. The regent, at the pleasure of God, ob-

* Cod. Harl., 4653. Birrell's Diary.

tained the victory. In the battle there was slain about the number of seven score and fifteen persons, and these all on the queen's side, except two only. But there were divers hurt and wounded, who died afterwards. In the midst of the battle, the queen, despairing of the victory, fled, accompanied with the master of Maxwell and his company of Galloway men, who took away their fellows' horses, that as yet endured the brunt of the battle."

In a statement in Burghley's hand*, of what befel Queen Mary, from her flight from Lochleven to her arrival in England, he says, that she passed by Glasgow to Dunbarton, where Murray attacked her. She saw the encounter from the top of a hill; and after the defeat escaped with a small party towards Dunbarton, uncertain whether she could reach it; she then turned to Galloway, where Herris met her. She dispatched a letter to Lowther, deputy-governor of Carlisle, and inquired whether she would find safety in England, if she should be obliged to proceed thither. He answered (on the 16th) that Scroope the Warden was in London, and he could not decide in a matter of such importance. He would however write to London on the subject, and if she came he would protect her against her enemies. Meantime, Mary had already on the 15th taken a boat in Galloway, and landed with eighteen or twenty attendants, near Workington in Cumberland. Lowther, who heard of it in the night of the 16th of May, pretended, in the first moment, that he did not believe that it was Mary, then took her to Cockermouth, and thence to Carlisle.

* Cod. Harl., 4653.

In a letter to Cecil of the 17th of May * Lowther announces that Mary had arrived with *circa* twenty persons at Cockermouth, with Lords Hamilton, Livingston, Flemming, and Herris, and the French ambassador; which latter intended to return during the night. Lowther conjectures that many more persons will assemble about Mary, will therefore convey her to the castle of Carlisle, and requests speedy orders how to act.

On the same day Mary wrote from Workington a letter to Elizabeth †, of which the following is the substance:—My adversaries have contrived, favoured, supported, and executed a crime, in order afterwards falsely to lay it upon me, as I hope clearly to prove to you. They threatened me with death if I did not resign the crown. At length it pleased God to deliver me at the moment that they intended to take my life. At Langside my adherents were defeated, because they defended themselves without any order or method, and marched in confusion. Upon the defeat they were so intent to seize upon my person that they dispatched persons all over the country to take or kill me. I retired to my Lord Herris's lands, who, with other earls, have accompanied me to England.

Considering the great trust which I have in you, I am persuaded you will assist me to recover my authority. I hope you will send immediately to see me. All my clothes and necessaries were left behind.

* Queen Mary during her imprisonment in England, in the State Paper Office, vol. i.

† Cod., 4643, p. 1; and Cod., 4653.

I have nothing with me except what is upon me. I travelled the first day sixty miles; after that was * * (qy. hid?) all day and travelled all night. I hope to have occasion to show you a particular account of the affair.

Your faithful and affectionate
sister and cousin,
and escaped prisoner,
MARY.

LETTER XXV.

The Opinions of Elizabeth and Burghley—Mary in Carlisle—The intercession of Catherine of Medicis—Correspondence with Mary—Knollys's Account of Mary.

IF we impartially weigh the accounts here communicated, and others already known, it will appear—

First, That Elizabeth in no way desired or caused the flight of Mary.

Secondly, That Mary felt convinced that her life would be in imminent danger if she fell into the hands of her subjects.

Thirdly, That it was for the interest of the French court to get Mary into its power. If, therefore, the French ambassador accompanied Mary to England, it seems that we may infer that a flight to France was no longer practicable, or at least that Mary (perhaps recollecting the plan of confining her in a nunnery) did not desire to have recourse to it.

What step Elizabeth was to take in this unlooked-for and highly important matter was now the first inevitable question. I have already stated the various arguments which were adduced upon

this occasion, in my 'History of Europe' *; I shall therefore add only the following: When Elizabeth heard of Mary's flight from Lochleven, she sent to wish her joy upon her liberation; and added†, that an armistice was, above all things, necessary. If she would leave France out of the question, and make Elizabeth arbitrator of the differences between her subjects and herself; upon this she promises that she shall oblige her subjects, if unwilling to return to their duty. On the 17th of May, when Mary had already, unknown to Elizabeth, arrived in England, the latter wrote an answer to the queen's letter respecting her liberation‡, and sent Thomas Laighton to her, in the hope of preventing bloodshed and violence by her mediation.

The victory of Murray and the flight of Mary altered, however, the state of affairs much more speedily and essentially than was expected in England. Burghley, according to his usual custom, wrote down several ideas respecting the existing circumstances, and the measures to be adopted; for example§, that nobody should be permitted to see Mary without the permission of her guard; that all accomplices in the murder of Darnley should be arrested; all interference on the part of the French avoided; to investigate the evidences of her guilt; to restore her, if innocent, unconditionally; but if guilty, only under certain restrictions, and with the exclusion of the French influence; lastly, to treat her with respect, in order that she might consent to a trial of her conduct by Elizabeth. These notices are concluded by a comparative view of the dangers

* Vol. ii. p. 494.
† Cod. Harl., 4653.
‡ Scotch Corres., vol. ix.
§ Cod. Harl., 4653.

that would ensue, if Mary were permitted to return to France, and if she were to remain in England.

We may take it for granted that Burghley, in considering the affairs of Scotland, had hitherto laid much less stress than Elizabeth did on the duty of the unlimited obedience of subjects. She, conformably with her position and sentiments, asserted this abstract principle in unmitigated rigour; while Burghley took a more accurate view of existing circumstances. Nor did sentimental considerations have any more weight with him; and if this be a fault, he cannot, in my opinion, be acquitted of it. He desired to make the degree of Mary's guilt or innocence the standard of Elizabeth's conduct towards her; at all events, however, not to make the civil and religious liberty of the two nations subordinate to a general form, or personal predilection; and least of all, blindly to aid in executing Mary's plans of revenge. He felt, he saw what his sovereign had already gained by the course of events, and what was now to be demanded from an adversary, not from petty selfishness, but conformably to higher duties and genuine political wisdom: among these demands was the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh. Further, Burghley was convinced that, as a statesman, he ought, above all things, to keep the state in view; to profit by the occasion, and take what fortune offered. At the same time all this was to be done conformably to what the most scrupulous inquiry should show to be just: he by no means desired to confine Mary without the allegation of further proof, like the French, still less to behead her, as the Scotch wished. Justice should be done to the expelled queen: the position of the judge, however,

in every case, is always more elevated than that of the accused, whether he may condemn or acquit.

The progress of affairs from day to day will appear from the following short extracts from very numerous letters and reports. Lowther, writing on the 18th of May, says*: "Her majesty's attire is very mean; she possesses neither money nor clothes, and I have provided her with what may be necessary. The French ambassador is still here. There was a report that Murray intended to execute some of her adherents, at which Mary wept, and hoped that God, France, and England, would revenge her cause. On the following day an order was issued from the English government to the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officers†, that Mary should continue to be taken care of at Carlisle, and the funds requisite to defray her expenses would be provided. Care, however, was to be taken, so to keep Mary and those that were with her, that none of them should escape till Elizabeth's further pleasure was known. On the 20th of May she was conveyed to Carlisle, in company with Lords Fleming, Livingston, and Maxwell‡; and several English lords and ladies went thither by direction of Elizabeth; together with the Earl of Northumberland, who was to take upon himself the superintendence. This was the more necessary, as the number of Mary's followers daily increased§, till she consented, in the sequel, to lessen the importunity of needy persons.

In the mean time the news of Mary's defeat and flight had reached France, and Catherine de Me-

* Queen Mary during her Imprisonment, vol. i. † Ibid.
‡ Birrell's Diary. Cod. Harl., 4653, p. 26.
§ Knollys, June 2nd, to Cecil. Queen Mary, vol. i.

dicis, on the 26th of May, wrote on the subject to Elizabeth *, as follows:—"My son and I have learned with much regret the fate of the Queen of Scotland; and it has afforded us much satisfaction that she has placed herself in your hands, being assured that she will receive from you help, support, friendship, and favour, such as an unfortunate princess like her may expect from you; and that you will persevere in the same opinion which you have hitherto maintained, that princes should assist each other to chastise and punish subjects who rise against them, and are rebels to their sovereigns; and the more so, as this concerns us all, and we ought to interest ourselves in the fate and protection of this afflicted and unfortunate queen, to restore her to her liberty and to the authority which God gave her, and which in justice and equity belong to her and no other. I therefore entreat you, my good sister, to acquaint the Chevalier de Monmorin, whom we have sent to you, and particularly the king my son and sovereign, and myself, how much you desire that the authority of sovereign princes should be maintained, and rebellious and disobedient subjects be chastised and punished; and you will treat the queen with the mildness and kindness which we promise ourselves, and expect from you; and will grant her all the help and favour which she may need to recover her liberty and the authority which is her due."

Meantime Mary had already received two letters from Queen Elizabeth, which, however, were so far from satisfactory to her, that she repeatedly expresses herself respecting her situation, and endeavours to represent it in a quite different and new

* Cod. Harl., 4643, p. 3.

light. On the 28th of May she writes to Elizabeth *:—"I am sorry that in the haste in which I wrote my last letter, I forgot, as I perceive from yours, the principal point, which induces me to write to you again, and which besides is the chief cause of my coming into your kingdom, which is, that having been long a prisoner, and treated unjustly, I desired, above all things, to come in person, and lay my complaints before you, to justify myself, &c. If, therefore, out of respect to you, I have done what caused my ruin, (at least very nearly,) may I not justly have recourse to her, who without any ill intention has caused the mischief, to repair and rectify the error which has arisen from it? I therefore beg you soon to see and speak to me, and speedily to replace me in the rank to which God called me, and in which respect all princes are bound mutually to assist each other."

In another letter to Elizabeth, of the 4th of June, Mary, after repeating her complaints, continues †:—"Answer me without delay, decidedly and in writing, if it is agreeable to you that I should come to you immediately and without ceremony, when I can acquaint you more particularly with the truth of all that has happened me, as well as disclose the falsehoods of my adversaries, which I am assured you will hear with pleasure.

"If you will not afford me active support, (which would be the most agreeable to me,) you will permit, as I came freely to throw myself freely into your arms as my chief friend, that, on your refusal, I apply to other princes, my friends and allies, to assist me in such manner as appears to me the most

* Queen Mary, vol. i. † Cod. Harl., 4643.

convenient, without prejudicing in any manner yourself or the ancient friendship between us. Whichever of the two you shall please shall be welcome to me, though one would be more agreeable to me than the other; for, thank Heaven, I am not destitute of good friends and neighbours in my just cause."

It was certainly impossible to take any reasonable resolution till further inquiry and consultation with the Scotch. Accordingly Elizabeth wrote to Murray on the 8th of June, that Mary was arrived, and had bitterly complained of him and his associates *. "All these things," continues Elizabeth, "cannot but sound very strange in the ears of us, being a prince sovereign, having a kingdom and subjects committed to us, as she had. Above all things, both parties must refrain from all acts of violence, on which we declare ourselves ready to listen and mediate with impartiality."

Before Murray could answer this letter, Knollys, Elizabeth's envoy to Mary, made several reports, from which I extract the following:—

"Mary's state of body and countenance," he writes on the 8th of June †, "begin to refresh and amend much. She appears to have received promise from France, and, if she were free, would endeavour to overthrow the regent by French assistance. What would happen if she remained in England, I do rather fear than presume to speak. There are bands in Berwick, and French ships swarm at sea ‡." "We have a charge to see that she escapes not, and yet we have no authority to abridge

* Scotch Corres., vol. ix. † Queen Mary, vol. i.
‡ Report of 11th of June. Ibid.

her nor detain her as a prisoner. We see that she repents herself of coming into England. In this difficult case we request further instructions."

"Queen Mary possesses great courage, very engaging manners, and speaks well *. She cares not what perils she be exposed to, provided she gains the victory over her enemies. It is well to be considered what is to be done with a lady of such a spirit. She told, she would rather that all her party were hanged, than submit to Murray; and told, if she were not retained, she would go into Turkey, rather than not be revenged on him." In a later report Knollys repeats †:—"Mary is a princess of a great policy, ready wit, and constant courage. When she came to Carlisle she encouraged her party with hopes of help from France, and confirmed many in her interest by her engaging letters and promises."

LETTER XXVI.

Mary's Complaints—Her Guilt or Innocence—Murray's Position—Parties in Scotland—Armistice.

It may be taken for granted that the letters of Mary to Elizabeth, and her inclination to France, as well as the account of Knollys and the situation of Murray in Scotland, could by no means be favourable to a decision, such as the fugitive queen wished, without any further inquiry. She therefore, on the 13th of June, 1568, again wrote to Elizabeth ‡ from Carlisle:—"Banish, Madam, from your mind, the idea

* Report of 11th and 12th of June. Cod. Harl., 4653.
† Cod. Harl., 4653. 16th of August. ‡ Cod. Harl., 4643.

that I have come hither for the security of my life, for the world and all Scotland have not rejected me; but to recover my honour, and to obtain support to chastise my false accusers. I will by no means answer them as if they were my equals, for I know that they have no such right against their prince, but to accuse them before you, whom I have chosen among all other princesses, as being my nearest relation and perfect friend, doing you, as I supposed, honour, in being named the restorer of a queen, who will recognise the benefit, and honour and thank you for it all her life. I wished also clearly to prove my innocence, and how falsely I have been treated*.

"I now see, to my great regret, that it is otherwise understood; and as you say that you are advised by persons of great importance to beware how you engage in this matter; God forbid that I should be the cause of your dishonour, whereas I had intended quite the contrary. Why, therefore, if you please, since my affairs require great expedition, not endeavour to see if other princes will do the same, from which no blame can accrue to you? Permit me, therefore, to go to those who will receive me without any such fear.

"As soon as I have proved my innocence, you will see whether I am worthy of your favour. If you find that I am not, and that my demands are unjust or to your prejudice, or to your dishonour, it will then be time to justify yourself towards me, and to leave me to seek my fortune.

"Your delays make me lose the rest; excuse me it is of importance to me to speak to you without

* Et comme faussement ils m'ont menée: may also signify, they have misled me.

dissimulation. You admit my bastard brother to your presence and refuse me. Help me, or remain neuter, and permit me to try my fortune elsewhere: here I cannot and will not answer to the false accusations of my subjects. But, through friendship and of my good pleasure, I will voluntarily justify myself to you, but not in the way of formal proof against my subjects, unless they have their hands tied. They and I, Madam, are not equals; and, though I should be longer detained here, I would rather die than so degrade myself."

Several of Mary's letters of this period are of a similar tenor *. After long and serious consideration of all the circumstances, arguments, and possibilities, it was resolved in the English privy council, not rashly to declare either for or against Mary, but lead matters to a closer investigation, in order that the truth might be brought to light, and justice done. Both Mary and her adversaries would willingly have avoided this course, for evident reasons; but, before such an examination and allegation of proofs, Elizabeth was quite unable to take a well-founded resolution, or to justify it to the world. It was equally incompatible with true policy indolently or meanly to hold back, and transfer the decision and the dominion over the neighbouring kingdom to the hands of the French.

Meanwhile Murray had declared † that he would not accuse his half-sister, so long as a reconciliation between her and Elizabeth was possible. He was answered, an accusation was out of the question; it was intended only to restore peace, and to hear

* Cod. Harl., 4635.

† Cecil's Letter of the 30th June. Cod. Harl., 4653.

what Murray and his party could say to justify their disobedience. On further inquiry, whether the proofs, if they produced them, would be considered as satisfactory? it was answered, no, not without hearing both parties.

About the same time Mary wrote to Elizabeth*: —"There are many things that move me to fear that I shall have to do in this country with others than with you. I make my moan and complaint to the Lord, that I am not heard in my just quarrel" (that is, by Elizabeth in person): "also, suffer me, without further delay, to depart hence, whithersoever it be. Good sister, be of another mind. Win the hearts, and all shall be yours, and at your command."

Elizabeth might easily have returned this last advice, for Mary was overthrown because she had lost all hearts, whereas millions remained faithful to Elizabeth till she was removed from the earth after a reign of forty-five years.

The moment that it was resolved not to set Mary at liberty till her guilt or innocence should be investigated, her residence in Carlisle, near to the Scotch frontier, was unsuitable and dangerous. At first she refused to go further into the interior†, but afterwards consented, because it appeared to her more advisable to preserve an appearance of freedom and of self-decision than suffer herself to be compelled. On the 14th of July, she was already in Bolton Castle. From this place, Mary‡ the more urgently and earnestly pressed Elizabeth speedily to assist her against a handful of rebels; because the Earl of Argyle and

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Cod. Harl., 4653. Queen Mary, vol. i.
‡ Cod. Harl., 4653. Letter of the 5th of August.

other of her adherents in Scotland had openly declared against Murray*. But this very renewal of hostilities naturally displeased Elizabeth, and was probably in part cause of a correspondence of which Knollys gives an account on the 8th of August.

"I received," he writes to Burghley†, "two letters from the queen for Mary; the first whereof, according to your prescription, I delivered to her forthwith. Upon the receipt and perusal whereof she fell into great passion, and could not contain herself from tears, in open presence: and, giving the letter to Lord Scroope and me to read, she wished she had broken one of her arms on condition that she had never come into England. And after our reading we answered that we thought her grace had no cause to mislike with Queen Elizabeth's familiar, plain writing unto her; since it was but a friendly plainness, and which, taken in good part, might occasion her majesty to prosecute that good mind towards her, that hitherto she has always naturally borne unto her. She said the effect of her letter answered thus uncourteously was none other, but that she might freely return home into her country like a free princess. And, said she, I have not fled the light, since I was content my cause should be heard in Westminster: and often she repeated that this rebukeful letter was more to have been written to one of her highness's subjects and not to her, being a free princess."

The above mentioned second letter of Elizabeth, which was subsequently delivered to her, was conceived in milder terms, and consoled her in some de-

* Proclamation of the 28th July. Cod. Harl., 4653.
† Queen Mary, vol. i.

gree. Yet Mary's letters of the 13th and 14th of August, and of the 1st of September*, in which she repeats her request for speedy support, did not lead to any decision, and the negociations with the chiefs of the parties in Scotland are of more importance.

On the 17th of August, 1568, Lord Herries, one of Mary's friends, wrote to Scroope and Knollys†: "The war between the embittered parties in Scotland continues. Elizabeth should therefore hasten to reinstate the queen, in order to restore tranquillity. Delays are dangerous to our party, whose estates are confiscated. They spend our revenue; destroy churches and dwelling houses; they murder priests, and young and old men and women. We can prove all this. If some speedy help be not got, no good person can willingly see such frightful spectacles of cruelty. If Queen Elizabeth will not help, then we must seek help elsewhere."

The exhortations of Elizabeth to both parties, immediately to conclude an armistice, were at first not attended to, and each blamed the other for the continuance of the quarrel. Lord Herries wrote to Elizabeth on the 19th of August‡: "I have not encouraged the Scotch to invade England, nor do I hinder the conclusion of peace. Drury, however, announced to Cecil that news had been received that six thousand French would land in Scotland; which, even if it is false, encourages Mary's party." On the 27th of August, Knollys writes to Cecil: Mary ascribes the continuance of the Scotch feuds to her adversaries; and knows nothing of the coming of French

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Ibid., and 4643.
‡ Cod. Harl., 4653, for all the following documents.

troops. Should any come, they would be sent back if Elizabeth afforded assistance.

On the same day Mary writes to Elizabeth: "I declare before the Lord I know nothing of any French coming to Scotland. I would rather depend upon your assistance than upon any other aid. But this discourages me, that my enemies have your ear, and misrepresent all my actions and lie basely of me."

On the 1st of September, Herries wrote to Murray, on the conclusion of an armistice; and on the 3rd of September to Lord Scroope, on the affairs of Scotland: "Elizabeth," he says, "may lose the hearts of those who are more capable to do her service than the other party. If Queen Elizabeth be displeased with the report that the French are coming to Scotland, she has herself to blame that they come, because she has not despatched my mistress's affairs. If Elizabeth, without any more empty promises, will solemnly engage, according to the old English and Scotch manner in the name of God, and upon her honour and the royal blood of her ancestors, that in the space of two months she will restore my mistress, then I will engage for all my party that they shall seek neither help nor amity from France, that there shall be perpetual peace between England and Scotland, they shall assist to the punishment of Bothwell, &c."

These bold demands of a party which had been hitherto constantly hostile to Queen Elizabeth, and to Protestantism, made the less impression in London, as they were not supported by any considerable power, declined all further inquiry, by taking the entire innocence of Mary for granted; unconditionally condemned the opposite party; and aimed at

making Elizabeth a mere instrument to attain their ends.

A letter from Murray of the same day, was of course much more agreeable to Elizabeth; he announced that Chatellerault had embarked French troops for Scotland, and that Mary's party compelled the poor people to contribute towards their maintenance; that he, Murray, was ready to come to England for the purpose of further negociations; that Elizabeth should decide, protest, and not suffer any influence of France in Scotland. With respect to the armistice, the Earl of Murray answered Lord Herries on the 11th of September: "I am resolved to keep the cessation from all hostilities till the return of the commissioners from England, to all persons except those that by law are justly prosecuted." At the same time he complains of wrongs done by Mary's party since Herries came last to Scotland, with the design, he thinks, to hinder the meeting of the commissioners, and that the confusion may still continue.

LETTER XXVII.

Negociations at York and Westminster.

On an impartial consideration of the affairs of Scotland, it appears that each of the leading parties had need of being recognised and assisted from abroad, in order to gain the superiority. Now, as France was distant, and torn by internal dissensions, and Queen Mary was in England, the final decision was undoubtedly in the hands of Elizabeth. This decision could not reasonably be any other than the result of a two-fold consideration; namely, of what

was possible, and of what was just. A restoration of Mary, contrary to the declared and firm will of the majority of the Scotch, was impossible; but whether this majority was in the right, could be discovered only by a more careful examination. The decision on the guilt or innocence of Mary would, of course, have an essential influence on the opinions of the Scotch, as well as on those of the English, and what then was found to be possible and right must also prove advantageous.

Murray was the first to be convinced that he must recognise Elizabeth as mediator. Mary, for good reasons, hesitated longer; but was at length obliged likewise to comply, because otherwise she had not the slightest prospect of assistance from England. She also entertained a conviction, built, it is true, on very slight foundations, that she could not, in relation to her subjects, lose any part of her supposed inviolable sacred rights; and that, in case of extremity, she was free at any moment, to break off the whole proceedings without any prejudice.

Thus the negociations in York and Westminster commenced. I have related the progress of them in such detail in my 'History of Europe*,' that I can refer you to it. From an accuser, Mary, as she should have foreseen, found herself converted into the accused; and when she broke off the negociations, her guilt, in spite of all denial, was in fact so clearly proved, that the apparently proud retreat only showed the anxiety of a guilty conscience. The restoration of Mary by the aid of England was, from that time, out of the question; it would have been impossible, unjust, imprudent and injurious.

* Vol. ii., p. 498.

These assertions will be confirmed by what I will now communicate to you, from English and French sources.

On the 4th of October, when the negociations in York, between the commissioners of the Scotch and of the queen had already begun, Knollys writes *: "Mary told me that, in case she was not a prisoner, she would return to Scotland; but if she be forcibly detained, none can find it strange if she, being then as a desperate person, use any means that may be for her and her friends' advantage, whatever may be the issue."

On the 8th of October she wrote to Elizabeth †: "I am sorry to hear that you are dissatisfied with me. I have no correspondence with strangers, and you must not impute to me what my uncles do."

The above expressions, combined with other indications, gave reason to suppose there was a plan, that Mary would escape, or cause herself to be carried off; for which reason it was resolved to move her to Tutbury‡.

Meantime Norfolk wrote to Sussex in reference to the negociations at York§: "Herries, one of Mary's commissioners, promised he would say nothing but the truth, but not all the truth."

On the 9th of October Knollys writes to Cecil‖: "My Lord Herries, for his part, labours a reconciliation to be had whatever the extreme of

* Cod. 4653. † Ibid.

‡ Knollys to Cecil, 6th of October. Queen Mary, vol. i. Leicester to Cecil, 17th of October. Cod. Harl. 6990, p. 37.

§ In October, a letter without a date. Cod. 4653.

‖ Queen Mary, vol. i.

odious accusations. And Lethington also said to me, that he would wish these matters to be worded in dulce manner, so that it might be done with safety."

It was probably in this view that the question was started *, whether it would not be good if Mary married an Englishman, or if she changed her religion? When Knollys expressed to her his regret at her Roman Catholic errors, she answered †: "How? You would have me, by a change of religion, lose France, Spain, and all my friends in other countries, before I know with certainty that my good sister Elizabeth will truly assist me in supporting my honour and my claims." This prospect, it is true, daily became less probable.

On the 11th of October the Duke of Norfolk, as president of the commission at York, reports ‡: "The Scotch, in reference to the recommendation which they signed for Bothwell, and which came into Mary's hands, have declared as follows: 'The earl invited us to dinner, then surrounded the house and chamber we were in with two hundred men, which obliged us to sign the bond, which appears clearly from this—we all left the town the next day.' By two letters of Mary's own hand, they found that Bothwell's taking and detaining her at Dunbar was her own contrivance. Lastly, they were informed from another letter of her own hand, that there was a *noir* design to kill the king, by embroiling him with the Lord Robert of Holyrood

* Queen Mary, vol. i. † Report of 21st of September, ibid.

‡ Cod. 4653. They had recommended Bothwell to the queen for a husband.

House, which was her contrivance. Their dispute came to that length, that they were at daggers drawing, but it did not come to stabbing."

Notwithstanding these discoveries, Elizabeth had written a letter to Murray for Mary*. His justification of the 14th of October contains, on the whole, matters already known. Among other things he, however, adds: "It was offered twice to Bothwell to answer the challenge of murder; to try the matter by the law of arms, as he offered by his castellan. This he refused, and fled."

On the following day (the 15th) Mary asked Knollys whether the Scotch had accused her, and he answered: "The commissioners have full power to hear everything that they bring forward." "If they do," said she, "they shall be answered roundly, that there shall be an end of all reconciliation." "I believe," adds Knollys, "if Murray does not accuse her of murder, there may be a pacification." To this necessary defence he was, however, driven the moment that Mary accused him as a murderer, or denied that there was any ground for disobedience to her.

Knollys therefore writes on the 6th of December†: "I see you are entered into the bowels of the odious accusation of Mary, so that you are passed over the time of reconciliation. Mary likes very well of her breaking off of her commission; and it seems to be a great vanity to look for her yielding to any further hearing by commission."

When her removal from Bolton was spoken of, she said to Knollys‡: "They shall tie me neck and

* Cod. 4653. † Queen Mary, vol. i.

‡ Cod. 4653. Report of the 3rd of December, and 25th of October.

heels before they carry me further in the land." The more was it apprehended that she might escape. "She has," says Knollys, "a strong, sprightly body, and can endure hard riding."

I take the following particulars from a written defence of the Scotch, presented to Queen Elizabeth: "Queen Mary was guilty and participant of the murder of her husband; yet we will not repeat former transactions, as we find no pleasure in mentioning that odious murder, or other things that tend to the dishonour and infamy of the queen, had she, with her commissioners, but contented herself with our answer on other points, and not compelled us to publish those things in our own defence. Mary had formally and duly resigned; and had nothing to fear in Lochleven, if she had remained quiet. The nobility and people of Scotland are a free people, who at first chose their kings, and appointed a council of the wisest men to assist them. Nay, ever since royalty was admitted in the kingdom the nobles entertained the conviction, that it was their right to correct the enormities of their princes; and all the kings have acknowledged this, as well when they exercised tyranny, as when flattery altered them and hardened their hearts."

After examples have been alleged in proof, the defence continues: "These instances clearly show that the nobility and inhabitants of Scotland, under the confession of Christ, have been accustomed to exhort their princes, to imprison, and depose them for their crimes. The same has been done in other countries, and approved by different writers,—even by Calvin and Melancthon."

LETTER XXVIII.

Mary breaks off the Negotiations—Warnings of Elizabeth—Situation of Murray.

However little these last arguments agreed with the principles and views of Elizabeth, she could not but be sensible of the guilt of Mary, who, on her side, could no longer cherish any hope that Elizabeth would sacrifice herself for her sake. She accordingly sent twenty commissioners to Scotland, who were so active against Murray, that Knollys, on the 10th of December*, observes, "that the longer holding of Murray at this court may be dangerous to him and his party."

It was therefore the more necessary for Elizabeth to declare her opinion of the course and the result of the negotiations at York and at Westminster. According to an official statement of the 16th of December, she said, in the presence of the council, to the Bishop of Ross†, Mary's commissioner, "That Murray and his friends had produced such matters as were very great and apparent presumptions, confirming the former common reports of the crimes imputed to the said queen; of which matter her majesty, by the declaration of her council, had also understanding to her great admiration, and no small grief, never looking to have heard of such matters, and so many against her."

On this Elizabeth made the three well-known proposals‡, how Mary might proceed further in the matter,—either she might send a confidential person

* Queen Mary, vol. i. † Cod. Harl., 4646.
‡ Raumer's History of Europe, vol. ii. p. 504.

to Elizabeth, or the latter would send one to her; or, thirdly, her agents might make a declaration before the commissioners at Westminster. "But as for her coming to her presence, considering her majesty could not find it agreeable at her first coming into this realm, she being then defamed only by common report, much less could she now think it either meet or honourable for her to come to her presence, considering the multitude of matters and presumptions now lately produced against her; and therefore her majesty required them to accept this as her answer, and make report thereof to Mary; thinking it always very necessary for her to make answer. And whosoever should advise her to the contrary, however they seemed otherways to be good servants to her, should be judged rather to betray her, and so desired them to consider well of what she (Elizabeth) said. For (continued she) it cannot be taken for a reasonable excuse, if she be innocent (as her majesty wishes her to be found), to suffer herself to be noted culpable of such horrible crimes, only for lack of coming to her majesty's presence, and no ways to clear herself to the world by any manner of answer; neither could she find how the queen should more readily procure her own condemnation (than) by refusing to make answer." And so ended Elizabeth's address.

The Bishop of Ross, however, would enter into no discussion, but simply required the queen to set Mary at liberty. To this Elizabeth replied, "They should first communicate the above proposals to the queen of Scotland, and learn whether she would refute the accusations brought against her."

Three days after this, Mary wrote to her commis-

sioners *:—" I have already refuted all the accusations at York." (The affair had since assumed a very different aspect, and new proofs had been adduced.) She says,—" We will not that our good sister, nor any prince in the world, shall esteem that we think our reputation of so little valour (value†), to put the same in the hands of any living creature, so far as we may persaif (perceive): and albeit that we happen‡ our person, life, and hazard of our state to our good sister, we would be loath that she should think that we reserve not that which we have dearest, which is our honour, and is deliberate to defend the same ourself, or, at the least, assist you therein."

The sense of the above letter is clear, but the expressions are constrained and intricate. With such evasions and language Mary could not remove or refute the charges brought against her, and considered to be as good as proved. Wherefore Elizabeth wrote to her on the 21st of December, from a minute of Burghley:—" We have been very sorry so long time for your mishaps and great troubles, so find we our sorrows now doubled in beholding such things as are produced, to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief herein is also increased, in that we did not think at any time to have seen or heard such matters of so great appearance and moment, to charge and condemn you §. Nevertheless, both in friendship, nature, and justice, we are moved to waive these matters, and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sense thereof to your prejudice, before

* Cod. Harl., 4646.

† So in the MS. Mary only translates the French valeur, by valour.—H. L.

‡ Probably the Scotch lippen—to trust. § Queen Mary, vol. i.

we may hear of your direct answer thereto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which, at their request, is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will advise you for your honour to agree to make answer as we have mentioned, so surely we cannot, as a prince and near cousin, otherwise than most earnestly, as we may in terms of friendship, require and charge you not to forbear from answering; and, for our part, as we are heartily sorry and dismayed to find such matters for your charge, so shall we be as heartily glad and well content to hear of sufficient matter for your discharge."

Four days later Mary's commissioners asked and obtained another audience of Elizabeth *. They laid all the blame upon the Earl of Murray; "and they most humbly desire the queen's majesty to cause them to have such writings as were produced against their mistress by their adversaries. Which the queen's majesty thought very reasonable, and declared that she was glad that her good sister would answer in that manner, and desired any extract from the said writings, which they did deliver the next morning."

This request of the commissioners did not, however, imply, as Elizabeth supposed, a resolution to answer to the accusations, as appears from Knollys' report of the 26th of December †:—I in vain represented to her—(he writes in substance)—the reasons for which she ought to give an answer; but she will not justify herself except in your majesty's presence.' She will certainly not go into the matter at all, "unless she might be assuredly promised

* Cod. Harl., 4646. † Queen Mary, vol. i.

aforehand, that your majesty would end and judge her cause to her honour, or unless that your commissioner would take a short answer for a sufficient answer; that is to say, that the accusations of her adversaries are false, because that she, on the word of a prince, would say they are false."

Knollys, having required a stronger guard for Mary, and expressed various doubts respecting her treatment, continues:—"If your majesty, after your faithful counsellors have resolved, shall discourage them by staying your assent thereunto, until all the passions of your mind shall be satisfied, then how your faithful servants may be discouraged thereby to stand to you at your nods, it is doubtful, or rather fearful, for me to consider."

In my opinion, by the expression *passions*, we must rather understand inclinations, fancies, or caprices;—it must certainly not be understood as if she wished to proceed in a more hostile manner towards Mary than did her counsellors. On the contrary, everything shows that the latter considered Mary's guilt as proved, and required a positive decision for the protestant party of Murray.

Knollys also represented to Mary, that Elizabeth and the world would consider her to be guilty, if she did not reply; that the best way, perhaps, would be for her to abdicate in favour of her son, and thus put an end to all further inquiry. Though Mary did not immediately give a decisive answer, Knollys observes, on the 31st of December*,—"Murray's accusations grieve extremely the queen. He (Knollys) believes, if Elizabeth would save her

* Cod. Harl., 4653.

honour, and use her favourably, she might yield to her proposal."

In this last supposition Knollys was, however, much mistaken. Mary, to her misfortune, had during her whole life an ardent, unconquerable lust of power, with the greatest incapacity for governing. She also believed that by tenaciously asserting all her claims, and positively denying all accusations, she would the most effectually protect her honour and her rights. She therefore wrote, on the 5th of January, 1569, to the Earl of Huntley *:—"Elizabeth and her counsellors know all the intentions and offences practised against us (by Murray and his associates), to colour their treason and wicked usurpation." At the same time Mary wrote and sent orders to Scotland, as if she were still absolute sovereign; directed how her officers should govern, what they should do, or not do, &c. This idea of hers was contrary to the views, not only of the majority of the Scotch, but also of Elizabeth, partly because matters were now in a different situation to what they were previous to the negotiations of York and Westminster, and partly because she would no longer tolerate a civil war in Scotland.

On the 7th of January Mary's commissioners again applied for the original documents † on which the accusations were founded, or copies of them,—(a proof that they were not yet delivered ‡)—that their mistress might fully answer thereto, as was desired.

* Cod. Harl., 4643 and 4678. Ordinances of the 6th of January.

† Cod. Harl., 4646.

‡ As it has been stated above that documents or extracts had been delivered to them, they, perhaps, now asked for the entire documents.—*Translator.*

The same demand was contained in a letter from Mary, which was read in the English Privy Council, "for copies, to the effect that they may be answered particularly, that Elizabeth and all the world may know they are no less (than) shameful and false liars, &c." Mary was probably induced to take this step because she was urged to abdicate; and such an offer had a better appearance than the previous refusal of an answer.

All proofs and counterproofs could, however, practically lead to no new conclusions; for which reason Cecil was very desirous that Mary herself should take another course. To this, however, she did not feel at all inclined; and on the 9th of January* declared by her commissioners that she was resolved rather to die a queen, than live as a private woman; and that the last words she would speak, should be those of a Queen of Scotland.

On the following day, January the 10th, Elizabeth's answer † was given, that nothing was proved on either side, which was doubtless to the advantage of Mary. The Earl of Murray, however, was permitted to return to Scotland, by which he naturally appeared to be favoured, in comparison with his half-sister.

The Scotch Commissioners hereupon again demanded the documents, and accused Murray. Being asked, whether they would personally act and give testimony against Murray? they answered, that they had no particular knowledge of the circumstances of the murder of Darnley, nor was it time to express their own opinion, they acted only by order of their mistress.

* Cod. Harl., 4653. † Ibid., 4646.

On the 12th of January Murray departed, and on the 13th Elizabeth declared, through her counsellors, that Mary should immediately receive all and every paper; "but Elizabeth will first have a special writing sent by the Queen of Scotland, signed with her own hand, promising that she shall answer to the same writings and things laid to her charge, without any exception." To this the commissioners replied, that Mary had already offered this; but as her accusers had departed unhindered, it seemed not advisable to proceed further in the business. They thought that these ought to be brought forward, or Mary also be suffered to depart.

This, if neither party had hitherto proved any thing against the other, appeared to be conformable to the letter of Elizabeth's polite declaration; and Mary's commissioners willingly embraced this opportunity to set aside the offer of an answer to the particulars of the accusation. The English counsellors answered, that Murray had promised to appear again when summoned by Elizabeth; that Mary could not, for many reasons, be suffered to depart. Elizabeth, however, would keep her, like a free princess, honourably and suitably to her rank, and with all the privileges and liberties which she had at any time enjoyed previous to her arrival in England. On the 7th of February Mary wrote to Elizabeth*:—"I have made a solemn vow to God never to give up the place to which He has called me, as long as I feel my strength equal to the burden: I thank Him that I feel it increase, with the desire to acquit myself better than ever, and with the capacity which I have acquired by time and experience."

* Cod. Harl., 4643.

About the same time (Feb. 25), Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth a heretic, and that she had forfeited the throne *.

Mary, in this letter, again alleges her innocence, and that she was ready to defend herself in person before Elizabeth. This was again placing the affair in a situation where no answer was possible or necessary. Mary, though there was no hope of a personal interview, never spoke decidedly respecting the murder of Darnley, and her connexion with Bothwell, or produced any fact in support of her innocence.—When Knollys at length plainly put the question to her †, she answered, as usual, in some general expressions, and began to weep; on this he broke off the subject. From that time no official notice was taken of the matter by either party.

On the 11th of August a Scotch ambassador appeared at the court of Elizabeth, who, in the name of Murray and his party, finally declared that they would not in any way negotiate with Mary ‡.

* Memorias, vii., 337. Under the date of June, 1569, page 339, it is affirmed Norfolk, Arundel, and other catholic peers, agreed to seize Cecil, but he had received intelligence of it, and behaved very leniently towards them (muy humano).

† Report of May. Cod., 4643. ‡ Memorias, vol. vii., 341.

LETTER XXIX.

Elizabeth's Declarations respecting the Affair.

It may serve to explain the facts which I have communicated in the preceding letter, if you compare what I have already said in my letters from Paris, and my History of Europe *.

As Elizabeth paid no regard to Mary's entreaties to be set at liberty, the King of France sent Monsieur de la Motte Fenelon to London, in 1568, to second her application †. In his report of the progress of the negotiation he relates,—first, that there were in the English court two opinions, for and against her liberation, which were very warmly advocated. "Mr. Cecil, the Secretary of State," he continues, "does all in his power to dissuade Queen Elizabeth from her good intention, and ventured, in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, very presumptuously to say to her, that she would be abandoned by her best servants, if, by the liberation of Queen Mary, she wilfully exposed her person and her kingdom to such evident and too certain danger. Hereupon Elizabeth angrily asked him, whence he knew this? for, till this hour, she had not heard a word from him on the subject which was not full of hatred and passion. Cecil remaining silent, Leicester said, 'You see, madam, what kind of a man the Secretary is: yesterday, when he was with us all together in London, he assured us that he would advise you to set the queen at liberty; and now he speaks quite differently.'—'Thus,' said Elizabeth, 'he often reports things to me which concern you, and

* Raumer's Letters, ii., 102. † St. Germain MS., vol. 739.

which afterwards turn out quite otherwise. However this may be, Mr. Secretary, I will go through with this business, hear the proposals of the queen, and not mind you brothers in Christ' *."

In the discussion of this matter, opposite opinions were expressed with great vehemence; and a person †, whom they had prepared, declared that "the proposals of the French ambassadors ought not to be listened to; that Elizabeth was deceived and betrayed; that the liberation of Mary would be attended with danger, &c. King Henry the Eighth," he continued, "would not have suffered the prey to escape, as was now shamefully and meanly advised; and if the French should come over to us, out of affection to the Queen of Scotland, I am ready to cut off her head myself, if Elizabeth gives me directions to do so." Hereupon the speaker attacked the Earl of Leicester in particular, as not manifesting in this affair due loyalty to his queen.

The earl, however, defended his opinion, that a convention ought to be made with Mary, and it was resolved to prosecute the negotiations. The Bishop of Ross, Mary's commissioner, wrote upon this a very polite letter to the Earl of Leicester, and requested him to procure him an audience of Elizabeth, that he might be able to acquaint his sovereign with the resolutions that had been adopted. Elizabeth replied to the earl, "that this letter confirmed the suspicion which was entertained, that he took the cause of the queen of Scotland too much to heart." This remark hurt the earl very deeply, and

* Et ne m'en arrêter plus à vous autres frères en Christ. It is not likely that the conversation took place in these terms.

† He is not named.

he complained, first, that Elizabeth interpreted the courteous, polite style of the letter to his disadvantage, and said, "I have never given you cause to think otherwise of me than as of a faithful counsellor, who has every reason in the world to be at all times your very obedient and loyal servant. With respect to what I advise you in regard to the Queen of Scotland, I believe, as surely as I believe in God, that your tranquillity and safety mainly depend upon it, and that the contrary would tend to your ruin and destruction. I shall never change this opinion, but you may do what you please. To obviate all suspicion, I will for the future cheerfully absent myself from the council." The earl, in fact, immediately set out for London, but the queen soon sent to him and the Marquis of Northumberland, a commission to continue the negotiation with the Bishop of Ross.

It is well known that these negotiations did not lead to any result; on which account complaints were made on the part of France. In order to justify her conduct, Elizabeth gave to Sir Henry Norris, her ambassador in Paris, the following remarkable instructions* :—

* Bibl. Cotton. Caligula. E. vi. *Note of the Translator.*—M. von Raumer, having met with a copy of these instructions at Paris, published it in his 'Letters from Paris for the Illustration of the History of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries;' but Lord Egerton omitted it in his translation of those letters, as he did all the other papers, of which there are originals, or copies, in the British Museum; even such as are in French. These 'Instructions' have been again introduced by the author into his 'History of Europe' during the last three centures.' The translator, who was engaged long before the appearance of the present work, in a translation of the History, the last sheets of which are now in the press, thought it his duty, not to translate such an important English document from the German,

"ELIZABETH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO NORRIS.

"We greet you well, and give you to understand that the French ambassador here resident, certain times this summer, after communicating with us other affairs of his master's, hath also solicited us very earnestly in the queen of Scots' case, using therein both the name of the king his master, and of the queen-mother: at which time we always made him such answer as we found convenient for our honour; and nevertheless at the same time, we had some occasion to doubt, that the earnestness which he used therein was produced, as much by some others * * in our realm privately addicted to the said queen, as by commandment of the king his master. But considering that which you lately advertised us by your letters, dated the 5th of this month, of some special speech used to you by the said king, and now also again finding that ambassador as earnest as before to prosecute his former matter, and joining therewith certain accidents of some things, touching some of the principal noblemen in our council, whereof there may be made reports varying from the truth: upon these considerations, which you shall also briefly repeat, we will you shall say to the said king and queen-mother, that we have thought good to advise them by you of our proceedings therein, so as they neither be ignorant, nor, we trust, unsatisfied. And hereupon, after your entry, in this sort you shall say—

but to take it from the original in the British Museum. A few words, or parts of words, in some of the pages, are deficient, the edges of the leaves having been injured. The words in Italics are inserted conjecturally, to supply the hiatus. The * * indicate a few words defaced, or illegible.

"It is not needful to repeat to them from the beginning the misfortune of the queen of Scots to have her husband foully murdered; who, indeed, was our nearest kinsman, by the king our father's side, in Christendom; and afterwards how the principal murderer was by her also forthwith married, and maintained in certain tyrannies against the estates of the realm, who sought, as they alleged, to have her delivered from such an abominable husband, and the country from such a tyrant. Upon which occasions it is also not unknown, into what dangers she did fall, being brought into captivity, as the said king's ministers, being sent thither at the same time, could report. But this we would should be known to the said king, and to all that bear her any favour, that by our means only her life was saved in her captivity; and since her flying into this our realm, she hath been honourably used and entertained, and attended upon by noble personages. And such hath been our natural compassion towards her, in this her affliction, that we utterly secluded and set apart all such just causes as she had given us beforetime of sundry offences, whereof some were notorious to the whole world, to be such as in no age hath been betwixt any princes remitted, touching the right of our crown; and forthwith we gave ear to her reasonable requests, to deal with her subjects for some accord betwixt her and them; and for that purpose, having procured an assembly of some of her noblemen and counsellors, and some of her contraries, with some of ours, to treat hereupon the last year at our city of York, her commissioners, more boldly than wisely as the event proved, entered into a bitter accusation of her subjects, and pro-

voked a treaty of the matter of her husband's murder, with other indignities thereon depending; wherewith, (partly for our own holding the place of a kingdom as a queen, partly in respect of justice,) we were sorry to hear, being solicited by the father and mother of her husband murdered, (whose mother named the Lady Margaret, attending your * * * *, was daughter to our aunt, the Scottish queen's sister's daughter, and sister also to the king of Scotland, aunt to the queen now being,) to have the truth *of the* said matter tried; whereupon such circumstances *were* produced to argue her guilty thereof, as we wished that *she* and her commissioners had been otherwise advised than to have entered so boldly into the treaty thereof.

" And by *these* means were we diverted from the special purpose *which* we had, to have made some accord betwixt her and her *own* subjects. And she also, as it seemed, was in the end disappointed of her purpose, and therefore after the matter * * * disclosed that was produced against her, she suddenly commanded her commissioners to forbear to give any answer, and not to proceed further in those matters, willing *them* to return to her, that she might send some of them *home to* Scotland, to confer with others of her party there. Thereupon she promised they should bring some further answer to us, according whereunto her commissioners departed in January, and, as we were informed, some of them did afterwards, about March, enter into new conferences in Scotland with her contraries about a *parley* amongst themselves of their inward trouble at *home*, whereof we were not sorry, being very de-

sirous that she and her subjects might come to some quietus *by all* manner of means. But yet of that attempt no event ensued, but a continuance of troubles, and so *we* forbare to meddle any further therein of long *time*, for as much as according to the promise made at *the* revocation of her commissioners in January, nor did *news come* to us from her until the latter end of April; then *one* of her counsellors, named the Bishop of Rosse, came * * to solicit us again to be a mean to make *some* end, *and* especially to help the queen to be restored, without making any mention of the murder of her husband, or of any other part of the rest of the heinous crimes; whereunto we were very inclinable, and sent to the Earl of Murray in May, certain articles, whereupon an accord might ensue; and, in as much as in us was, charged him to consider thereupon and send to treat with us on the same, for we did let him understand, how that we were fully determined to procure an end for the queen, and that as favourable as with our own honour might be.

"And whilst we were thus earnest for her, and looked for some good success, it pleased Almighty God, who always assisteth those that direct their actions in his fear, and in simplicity of good meaning, to cause to be discovered to us a disordered, unhonourable, and dangerous practice, which had been very covertly begun by her ministers six or seven months before, when her cause was first begun to be heard at York: at which time and after, she did notwithstanding, by her frequent letters and messengers, assure us in all faithful manner, that, considering the favour that she found in us, the

power that we had to do her good, and therewith the nearness that she was in blood to us, she would never seek nor use any means to be helped but by us; nor would attempt anything in our realm but by our advice, direction, and allowance. Whereunto the more we trusted, (as indeed we never yielded to mistrust her, though we lacked not occasions,) the greater cause found we of unkindness and offence. And though it may be that the king there may have heard of it summarily, yet doubting how the truth is reported, you may assure him briefly thus it was. In October *of* the year past, when our commissioners were at our *city of* York with hers, to have treated upon an accord *so as* before is mentioned, some of her ministers entered *into* practice of marriage of her with the Duke of Norfolk, then the principal commissioner for our part; intending, as it now appears by means of his favour, to have *certain things* suppressed that had been produced against her, *and* an end made for her private purposes without regard *to* us. And this being foully and cunningly handled by her ministers without our knowledge, it followed that our *commissioners* being all called up to our court near London in *December*, to the intent to proceed more speedily, and to end the *matter* fully, such secret practice was also used by her ministers with the Earl of Murray, to assent secretly to their marriage, that he was then also threatened to be in danger of *killing*, if he would not assent, and so for safety of his life he *did*, fearing to disclose any such matter to us, and *giving* promise to assent, he returned home, and yet *not without* peril of murdering by the way, as it is

known; and as also it is now by others discovered, he did secretly impart it; which, for certain respects * * * not * * to cover this practice at his coming * * *† that he should not advertise us thereof; he was, by *the* ministers of *the* queen (which also had credit with her), *per*suaded that we were secretly content with the marriage of her with the Duke of Norfolk; yea, and to restore *her not* only to her kingdom in Scotland, but enable her to *effect* further matters, which always she hath sought *above* other worldly things; and in this sort, when we had *not* a thought of any such matter, she did also *by her* messengers assure sundry of her party in Scotland that this marriage should take place within a few days, and thereby she should recover all and more. And to abuse some of ours, she and her ministers made certain offers, to accord to all things that could be devised for our surety, whereunto they, having no mistrust, gave more heed in respect of us, than (now is manifestly seen) had been for our safety.

"And in this sort you may say, we have willed you briefly to declare her dealing to abuse us, and to aspire to that state from the which we, by God's goodness, doubt not during our life to keep her. And you may say to the queen-mother, because her experience by years serveth her to judge of such matters better than her son; she can well enough think that in this, so long a practice, tending to so high a matter, begun in October, and not to us

† The words wanting here are not easily supplied; the meaning seems to be, that he affirmed, that in order that he should not, &c.—*Translator's Note.*

known before August, being the space almost of ten months, there were many particular devices, which now are to us sufficiently known, tending to the consummation of no small enterprise; for we find that this device of marriage was, in the meaning of her and hers, but an entry to her greater designs; and surely right sorry we are, yea, half ashamed, to have been thus *misused* by her whom we have so benefited by saving of her life; to whom also we have shewed otherwise great favours, having been heretofore our mortal enemy, as is well known to the world. And were it not but for the satisfaction of the king and his mother, you may say we would not utter so much of so ungrateful a matter. But now that they shall understand by some parts how evil we have been used, we trust they will indifferently (impartially) consider of us both, and regard what is meet for them to require of us towards her.

"And you shall assure the king and the queen mother, howsoever they shall be advertised otherwise, that we have no cause to doubt of any lack of fidelity of our nobility, towards whom we show ourselves *at* this time displeased. But that we will herein use that power which God hath given us, to punish or reprehend, as well the highest as the lowest of our subjects, if they shall oversee themselves in any matters belonging to us, meaning thereby both to cause them to be circumspect for themselves, and all others to take example, to beware how they shall deal in such dangerous matters, and so ye shall conclude, that of this matter we doubt not to make a very good end, both for our own honour and the contentation of all our good subjects.

"And if it should be said unto you that the Queen of Scots complaineth about her strait keeping, and that she hath some lords attending upon her, whom she liketh not, you may answer, that indeed at this time, when we found what sort this practice had been by her sundry ways *pursued*; and therewith also being informed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom she was, how he was *afraid* to keep her by reason of the suspicion he had, *some* were corrupted on her behalf and were privy to this practice; yea, and that he could not well *trust* his own servants; and that he himself, by *reason* of his sickness, could not give that attendance *which was* convenient; but required us to have some more re*gard* to her than before, and to let him have some *aid* of some noblemen, or else to be discharged of *us*. Thereupon and at the same instant, also *hea*ring out of Scotland that she had sent to *some* there, assuring them that she would come *there* and be married, assigning therefore a time *certain* and very short, we were in reason moved to *use strictness* more than indeed we did, and of necessity compelled to do that whereof we think she complaineth. For where she before time agreed to have a certain number of barons of her own allowed with her, she had secretly, without our knowledge, so far increased the same, as the Earl of Shrewsbury took thereof some doubt, and therefore we gave orders to remove the superfluous number. And for the assisting of the Earl of Shrewsbury we did appoint the Earl of Huntingdon, who was next neighbour to the Earl of Shrewsbury; of whom you can say enough for his discretion and integrity of conscience: however, the Queen of Scots, by reason the course of the

practice intended both for her marriage and for her escape, is in her opinion broken, doth now shew herself to mislike him.

"And if any more matter shall be objected by the king, as it may be upon certain information sent to him from her or her ministers, if by these our letters you perceive not sufficiency to instruct you, you shall do well to pray the king only to suspend his judgment betwixt us and her, until an answer thereto shall be given, and require him to consider with himself how justly we have been provoked hereunto, and to much more; and yet we are not moved (we thank God) to use any revenge, but as nature, reason, and honour shall compel us, to foresee our own quietness and surety, which, we trust, no Prince will disallow in us, any more than we would in any of them, if they had the like cause."

LETTER XXX.

Mary's subsequent Plans—Norfolk—Marriage—Burghley respecting Norfolk.

MARY was much dissatisfied with the issue of the negotiations of York and Westminster, though she could not but regard Murray's return to Scotland as fortunate, since it gave her a pretext for breaking off the dangerous prosecution of the inquiry. Elizabeth's gain was more decisive, for whatever turn matters might take in the sequel, the fate of Scotland depended essentially on her influence and her will.

Yet matters were not brought to a conclusion by this apparent repose; for Mary strove more eagerly

than ever to obtain her release, either through Elizabeth's good will, or by aid from Scotland, or even from England. Each party in Scotland urged Elizabeth to declare in its favour, and the intercession of foreign powers became every day more pressing and decided. From this and other motives arose manifold plans and negotiations, concurring with, or crossing each other. Mary's letters to Elizabeth—her negotiations with Norfolk—her correspondence with foreign powers—the attempts to send her back to Scotland—lastly, the rebellion of Lords Westmoreland and Northumberland—fill up the history of this and the two following years. It may suffice here to allude to what is known and to add some new particulars.

On the 10th of November, 1569, Mary wrote to Elizabeth*:—"I placed myself in your hands, and your power, of my own free-will, and without constraint. If you think fit to treat me with rigour, and consider me as an enemy (which I never was nor wish to be), permit me to redeem myself by a ransom from my wretched prison, as is customary among princes who are enemies."

This comparison was plausible, but was not quite to the purpose; for not to mention that Mary did not come voluntarily to England, her confinement was chiefly caused by the heavy unanswered accusations which had been adduced against her. Perhaps she thought to weaken their effect by boldly accusing others. At least, she informed King Philip II. about this time, on the 4th December, that she knew it was contemplated in Elizabeth's cabinet to poison him†.

* Cod. Harl., 4643. † Memorials, vii., 344.

After Murray was murdered, on the 23rd of January, 1570, the question of justice, of guilt or innocence, remained unchanged; but it was necessary again to examine what might be prudent and practicable. In order to gain Elizabeth's favour, Mary wrote on the 4th of March to the Bishop of Ross*:—"I honour the Queen of England as a mother, and expect more from her than all my other relations. The information which I have received of her great perfections inclines me to desire the blessing of seeing her. I would beg the favour of being allowed to be with my sister at least *incognito*, and promise not to be importunate with her in anything." And yet to this produceable, flattering letter was annexed the demand that her right of succession to the English throne should be fixed by Parliament. This demand appears the more unreasonable, as for well-known reasons even the throne of Scotland was disputed, and this second step might in prudence have been deferred till the first had succeeded. She would have gained more by patiently waiting than by an unwelcome reference to a matter which was already so much contested on account of her religion.

On the 19th of March†, Mary writes to the Bishop of Ross:—"I am sorry to see Queen Elizabeth so cold in the treaty about my liberty, and to believe so easily all the suggestions of my enemies, who desire nothing more than to hinder it. At Chatsworth, Cecil and Mildmay made me hope of things I now doubt of."

The resolutions that would be taken in England essentially depended on the state of parties in Scot-

* Cod., 4652. † Ibid.

land. On the 28th of March Randolph writes to Lord Sussex:—"The state of Scotland is so divided that it is impossible to unite them*. I cannot tell which side is the greater, though whatever side Queen Elizabeth shall join, that shall carry it: If she lets Mary go free, the party of the king and the protestants will be oppressed."

Lethington, on the contrary, writes on the 29th of March to the Earl of Leicester† :—"If Elizabeth will assist the king's party, she will, by necessity, oblige Queen Mary's friends to seek for help elsewhere, which shall engage Queen Elizabeth in great charges. So that at the time when the report is (for instance) Queen Elizabeth's army is marching into Scotland against Queen Mary's party, there is a messenger come from France to know the state of her party, and what assistance they want; which they certainly, in the present posture of their affairs, willingly accept of. You desired my opinion which is most expedient; which is, seeing Queen Elizabeth desires above all things to have Scotland at her devotion, for which design she hath bestowed both blood and treasure, the only way to gain the affection of all the Scots to her Majesty must be by way of treaty, to engage them to concord, which will persuade them all that her designs are honourable. But if she shall send forces to maintain the power of a small party in Scotland, she will lose the favour of the others, and draw foreign soldiers into the kingdom."

On the 2nd of April Randolph writes to Lord Sussex:—"A French ambassador has been with

* Cod., 4652. † Ibid.

Mary, and has brought letters from her to her partizans, by which they have all been made to change their minds*. By this means the business that I came for is greatly hindered, so that I have lost more friends within these few days than I could make in many days before."

This state of things, already so precarious, was rendered still more intricate by the negotiations of Queen Mary with the Duke of Norfolk. As early as May, 1569, Mary caused a plan to be drawn up† at Wingfield, according to which the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Scotch Consistory should decide on her divorce from Bothwell. The names of the persons appointed to conduct this matter are not stated, and the whole plan appears to have been laid aside. A marriage with the Duke of Norfolk could not, indeed, be effected before a dissolution of that marriage.

Upon this subject there is a paper, dated the 6th of October, 1569, in the minute of a letter of Burghley, superscribed‡ My Advice to the Queen's Majesty, in the Duke of Norfolk's case. It is in the following terms:—

"May it please your Majesty,—Many causes move me at this time rather by this short writing to deliver my mind to your gracious majesty than by open speech before your counsellors. No true counsellors to your majesty can be without inward grief to behold this unfortunate case of the Queen of Scots, to become so troublesome to your majesty. But it is (fit) that now, any that shall love and coun-

* Cod., 4652. † In the Archives at Edinburgh.
‡ Bibl. Cot. Calig. C. i.

sel your majesty, (shall seek) either to diminish your grief, so without peril, or else to manifest to your majesty that, in the conception of your grief, the causes appear to be greater than they are.

"Hereupon under your majesty's favour and great clemency, I am bold to show my opinion that your majesty need not to hinder your health by any care, nor yet * * * your greatness of your estimation, though this care be not made so terrible as seemeth your majesty would have it.

"The Queen of Scots indeed is, and shall always be, a dangerous person to your estate; yet there be degrees whereby the danger may be more or less; if your majesty would marry, it should be less, and whilst you do not it will increase. If her person be restrained either here or at home in her own country, it will be less; if it be at liberty, it will be greater.

"If she be manifested to be unhabile by law, to have any other husband than Bothwell while he lives, the peril is the less; if she be esteemed free from the marriage, it is the greater.

"If she be declared an offender in the murdering of her husband, she shall be less able to be a person perilous*. If her offence pass over in silence, the stain will wear out, and the danger greater.

"Now for the duke. Whilst he lives unmarried, the hope of matching with her will continue; and if he shall marry in any other place, which, of all other things in the world seems necessary, all pernicious intents depending upon him shall cease.

* On the 12th July, 1570, Burghley declared it for a falsehood that he had directly or indirectly, in any manner, influenced Elizabeth to the disadvantage of Norfolk. Cod. Harl., 4764, 4675.

"Again: if he shall be charged with the crime of treason, and shall not be thereof convicted, he shall not only save, but increase his credit.

"And surely, without his facts may appear manifest, within the compass of treason, which I cannot see how they can, he shall be acquitted of that charge; and better it were in the beginning to foresee the matter, than to attempt it with discredit, and not without opinion of evil will or malice.

"Wherefore I am bold to wish that your majesty would show your intention only to inquire of the fact and the circumstances, and not by any speech to note the same as treason. And if your majesty would yourself consider the words of the statute concerning treason, I think you would so consider of it.

"The words are these in the French book, in anno 25 Ed. III.:—Si home leva de guerre contre nostre seigneur le roy en son royalme, ou soit adherent aux ennemyes de nostre dit seigneur le roy en son royalme, aux uns donnat aide et confort en son royalme, ou par alliance ou de cas probablement soit atteȳt de overt fayt per gentz de leur condition."

Burghley justly declared against precipitate and severe measures in this case; for whatever reasons there might be for disapproving the plan of Mary and Norfolk to marry, it could not, by any means, be designated high treason. On the other hand, a suspicion was natural that both of them, if they carried the plan into effect, would neither be able nor willing to remain within due limits. Thus Mary wrote on the 31st of January, 1570, to the Duke, and called him her own lord*. She wrote before to

* Cod., 4652. In 1572 a correspondence took place between the King of Denmark and King James, respecting Bothwell; par-

know his pleasure if she should seek to make her enterprise. (To what does she here allude?) She cares not for her danger, she wishes that he should seek to be (do?) the like; for if they could both escape, they should find friends, and for his lands, she hopes not to be lost; for they being free and honourably bound together, he might make such honourable offers as Elizabeth could not refuse. She will follow his commands before all the world.

On the 18th of April Mary writes to him: he should solicit the ambassador (probably the French) to send relief into Scotland, for it was the time; else she should be forced to consent to the sending her son into England. Now was the right moment to restore her in Scotland.

LETTER XXXI.

Deliberations and Negotiations on the Liberation of Mary—Difficulties—The Scotch, Spaniards, and French—Lennox Regent.

THE demands of Mary and her plans, which were more or less known, continually rendered new deliberations necessary, whether it would be better to retain her in confinement, to support her, or to set her at liberty and leave her to her fate. I have discovered various documents and writings on this subject which are partly by Burghley, and partly bear an official and authentic character. The following extracts, even in their repetitions and extraneous matter, are characteristic.

ticularly whether proceedings could be instituted against him either in Denmark or Scotland. Bothwell affirmed that he was innocent and already acquitted. Queen Mary, vol. i.

In a paper of Burghley's*, which describes the danger which threatens Elizabeth, it is stated "that the friends of Mary desire to place her upon the Scotch and upon the English throne. It cannot be thought she would have been more scrupulous to have taken away Queen Elizabeth's life, than she was in destroying a husband, because his life hindered her adulterous marriage with Bothwell. Catholics provided with papal absolution would never be scrupulous."

At a meeting of the English privy council the following arguments were adduced against Mary's restoration†.

First: "Some thought it a sin for Elizabeth to restore such an infamous person to the throne."

Secondly: "It would be a declaration of her innocence of the crimes she was accused of before."

Thirdly: "As promises and guarantees are here insufficient, she would renew all her former claims upon England, and excite foreign powers in her favour."

Fourthly: "Fresh religious persecutions and essential dangers to Protestants would ensue."

Fifthly: "Mary, after her liberation, would probably recall Bothwell, of whose wickedness Queen Elizabeth is well aware. He would declare all that Mary has agreed upon with Elizabeth to be null and void because his consent was not given." Or,

Sixthly: "Mary will dissolve her former marriage and conclude a new one, dangerous to England, &c."

A third paper says‡, Elizabeth cannot in honour and conscience show that favour to her which in

* Cod., 4652, p. 13. † Ibid., p. 15. ‡ Ibid., 4646.

former times the proximity of blood, the equality of their states, her having been born to be a queen, might have required; for the devising, working, and consenting to the horrible murder of her husband, who was her next kinsman, of the royal blood of England and her majesty's born subject, and also next kinsman to the Queen of Scotland of the father's side. Further, the Queen of Scotland did immediately adulterously marry the Earl of Bothwell, the principal murderer. After her restoration, Bothwell, an open murderer and tyrant, would be king, and (she would?) suffer him to be a murderer of the infant king as he was of the father. If, on the other hand, Mary's plans should lead to a marriage with Norfolk, no smaller dangers would arise for England, and her liberation evidently excite a new civil war in Scotland.

Though the privy counsellors, probably in accord with the feelings of the whole country, declared themselves as above, Elizabeth continued to hesitate. She therefore, on the 30th of April, communicated to the Earl of Sussex all the arguments* for and against, and as she had not yet come to any resolution, asked his advice, adding that she would not however suffer the Protestant party in Scotland to be ruined.

For the support of that party, English troops were stationed on the frontiers of Scotland and had even crossed them in some places, which, however, caused expense, and gave rise to complaints. Mr. Norris, Elizabeth's ambassador at Paris, was instructed† to declare to the king of France, that

* Cod., 4652. † The 28th of May. Ibid.

English soldiers had passed the Scotch frontiers only to take revenge for former acts of pillage on the borders, and to demand some English traitors who had found protection in Scotland; that the conclusion of an agreement with Mary had been chiefly delayed because she interrupted matters with several innovations.

On the 3rd of May Elizabeth wrote on this subject to the Earl of Sussex*. "Seeing great solicitations have been used to her for Queen Mary's liberty, though formerly when she was that way disposed, Queen Mary put such impediments as she could not comply with; yet she hoped that the matter would still be brought about by the mediation of France and Spain." Elizabeth adds, "You shall do your endeavours that the parties in Scotland may conclude an armistice; otherwise, dismiss, with as little noise as possible, the greater part of the army, because it occasions great expenses."

Queen Elizabeth was undoubtedly in earnest in desiring to make an agreement with Mary and to remove her from England; at least the latter must have believed so when she wrote to Elizabeth on the 24th of May†, asking that "she may have the liberty to go privately to Scotland to know the estate of her affairs, and to dispose them to follow Elizabeth's pleasure." On the 14th of June‡, in a letter to Elizabeth, she adds, "I wish you knew what sincerity of love and affection are in my heart for you."

The first proposal, that Elizabeth should release Mary, without the slightest stipulation for security,

* Cod., 4652, p. 38. † Ibid., p. 30. ‡ Ibid., p. 39.

was too unstatesmanlike, and would have given up every advantage with such false generosity, that no English privy counsellor could vote for it. The last expression, on the contrary, it may be asserted, came from the heart, and ought to have gone to the heart, and might have served as a basis for all subsequent negotiations. All attempts at reconciliation, it is further asserted, failed only because Elizabeth was always destitute of feelings of humanity and sincerity.

Often as this assertion has been repeated and represented as unquestionable, it in nowise agrees with the facts before us: the obstacles originated far less with Elizabeth than with Mary and the Scots. Thus, for instance, at the moment when she wishes that Elizabeth could look into her heart to see her love and sincerity, "the pope* is desired to forgive her for writing loving and soothing letters to Elizabeth; she desires nothing more than the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England." It was probably about the same time (June 11th†) that Elizabeth wrote to Sussex, "that she had discovered some indirect courses to her danger in Queen Mary's ministers, which moves her to take another course for her own safety than otherwise she designed.

The situation and disposition of Scotland were, however, paramount to all other considerations. On the 17th of May, Lethington, in a letter to the Earl of Sussex, repeated the arguments for Mary which we have communicated above, and added‡, "I fear Randolph has been a bad instrument, and do not

* Cod. 4652, p. 39. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

think that if Elizabeth had been truly informed of the state of Scotland, she would have done what is done." Mary's adversaries wrote, on the contrary, to Queen Elizabeth*: "Your letters discourage us greatly and encourage our enemies, who are your avowed enemies, who still practise with foreign papists to destroy the reformed religion, your majesty, and their king." About the same time, the 21st of June, Randolph writes to Sussex†: "I told the meeting the reasons which moved Queen Elizabeth to listen to a treaty with Queen Mary, because of the importunity of foreign princes, and France and Spain proceeded to military armaments and threats. Notwithstanding I declared that nothing would be agreed upon unless there were sufficient security for their king and themselves. Upon hearing of a treaty, they were all so discouraged that they were silent a long time, and it was impossible to comfort them." At last they defended themselves, and proved that their interest and that of Queen Elizabeth were one and the same.

On the 2nd of July Elizabeth† gave orders that Lord Sussex should give to the alarmed friends of James a satisfactory declaration; but adds, they cannot reasonably desire her to declare openly for their cause, seeing she is obliged to enter upon treaty with Queen Mary.

At this moment, when the ancient adversaries of Mary were dissatisfied with Elizabeth, Mary thought it advisable to make some advances to them. At least Mary, in a letter of the 10th of July, complained to her mother-in-law, the Countess of Len-

* In June. Cod., 4052. † Ibid., p. 44.

nox*, that she considered her as guilty, condemned her, and manifested her hatred both in words and deeds. Mary's justification, however, made so little impression, that Lennox (letter of 17th of July†) got himself appointed regent, by which the friends of James gained a new and firm support; on which the other party, not to remain behind in this respect, appointed Queen Mary Regent of Scotland.

LETTER XXXII.

Mary's further Endeavours and Intrigues—New Negotiations and Difficulties.

An impartial consideration of all the circumstances shows that no state of permanent security would be established, nor every cause of trouble be removed, either by the liberation or detention of Mary. The parties in Scotland—the influence of foreign powers—the Roman Catholic and Protestant religion—claims to the succession—and many other subjects—were to be examined and considered. In particular, the equivocal behaviour of Norfolk, and the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had produced a conviction that the vicinity of Mary might become dangerous to the existing government and to Queen Elizabeth. Accordingly, in spite of all the difficulties, the negotiations were continued.

At an audience on the 28th of June, 1570‡, Mary's commissioner, the Bishop of Ross, affirmed that his

* Queen Mary, vol. i. † Cod., 4652, p. 55. ‡ Ibid.

mistress cherished the greatest friendship for Elizabeth, and expected the less from France, as Catherine of Medicis treated her only as a step-daughter; and that Mary had not the smallest share in the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. In the conversation which took place on the occasion, Elizabeth said that the guilt of the Countess of Northumberland was so great that she deserved to be burnt. About the same time (the 3rd of July) Ridolfi arrived at Madrid, with autograph letters from Mary to Philip II., in which she requested him to give him credit in everything, and Ridolfi affirmed that the Roman Catholics were resolved to murder Elizabeth, Bacon, Leicester, Burghley, and Northampton*.

On the 5th of September, the Duke of Alva, writing in the name of Philip, recommended the cause of Mary, adding †, that his master had the good of both the queens equally in view. Nine days later ‡, the Earl of Sussex remarks that Elizabeth had agreed with Mary on the principal points, provided that the Scotch did certain things; and on the 19th and 25th, Elizabeth writes to Sussex § :—

"I still wish, at the instance of France, Spain, and other Catholic powers, to conclude a treaty with Mary, but without prejudice to the young king and his friends. If she does not refuse reasonable conditions, I cannot with reason and honour detain her any longer in England."

The nearer the parties seemed to approach their

* Memorias, vii. 361. The Spaniards also allow (p. 364) that their ambassador meddled and implicated himself too much in these matters.

† Cod., 4652, p. 24. ‡ The 14th of September § Ibid.

object, the more numerous were the difficulties that arose to prevent it, especially now that the interests of Mary and of her adversaries in Scotland were to be reconciled. The Bishop of Ross reproached Burghley, saying, that if he only would, he could easily bring the matter to bear*. Burghley answered, he was only *one* in Elizabeth's council, and could decide nothing; that he was an enemy to Mary only when she acted against his queen; otherwise he would willingly do everything possible for her. The hinderance of the treaty was by the evil influence in Scotland. Therefore he advised Queen Elizabeth to treat with Queen Mary herself, and send commissioners to her, which was the shortest way to end all controversy; though he did not desire to be one of them, because princes are jealous, and Queen Elizabeth, at his return, might think that Queen Mary has persuaded him to be of her party, as she had done to others; yet he promised he would befriend Queen Mary's cause.

At the beginning of October, Burghley and Mildmay were sent to carry on negotiations with Mary, and it was by no means their fault† that the object was not attained. As early as the 2nd of October, Randolph writes to Sussex‡:—"When the treaty with Mary is not prevented, he knows not what shall become of the king's party in Scotland. Lennox, the regent, has sorrowfully lamented his condition; if Queen Mary shall return, and alteration be made of the sovereign, he will then be obliged to resign. Mary's adversaries again urged that her guilt was

* Cod., 4652, p. 21.

† Elizabeth to Sussex, on the 7th October. Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 61–64, and the 8th, 10th, and 16th October.

proved; and that the Earl of Sussex, one of the commissioners, was himself convinced of it; that Elizabeth had promised, on the 12th of September, 1568, not to restore Mary unless her innocence were proved; they also observed that the restoration of Mary was contrary to the laws, oaths, and allegiance of their sovereign, which they declared in many such words full of grief, that their case was desperate; that whatever Queen Elizabeth did, if Queen Mary returned, that would be no security for them; so they cannot contrive any conditions for their own security, nor can Queen Elizabeth propose any security for herself, if Mary is restored to the crown." Hereupon, when the English commissioners brought the heads of both parties together, to negotiate with each other, innumerable reproaches were brought forward on both sides, and no reconciliation appeared possible.

The Earl of Morton wrote to Sussex on the 25th of October to the same effect*:—"They can never be persuaded that when Queen Mary be allowed her liberty, how Queen Elizabeth and her realm can ever be safe; and he can say for himself and his party that Queen Mary's liberty shall be their ruin and destruction. Especially if it is intended to transport King James to England; if he, Morton, spoke of such a thing to any of his party, they would reckon him a betrayer of the common cause for which they had exposed their lives and fortunes, and he is sure that such (commissioners?) shall be sent, as shall demonstrate the impossibility of their compassing that or Queen Mary's restoration. If,

* Cod., 4652.

on the other hand, Queen Elizabeth shall agree to settle the king's authority, she shall have all possible assistance from them, both for Elizabeth's benefit and that of her realm."

Meantime, notwithstanding all the difficulties, certain principal points had been settled with Mary, when new objections arose in quarters where they were least expected, namely, France, Spain, and the adherents of Mary in Scotland. On the 6th of November, 1570*, the King of France expressed to his ambassador the apprehension that Mary, if she went to Scotland, would be exposed to new and great dangers. It appears equally from Mary's papers that Philip and Alba by no means assented† to the conditions which Mary was willing to agree to and Elizabeth to accept. They thought that danger awaited her in Scotland, that she should not send her son to England, not suffer her hands to be tied respecting the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, &c. On the other hand, a thousand other possible contingencies were adduced and discussed on the supposition of her being set at liberty; she might marry a Spanish prince, or Don John of Austria, send her son to Spain, &c. Lastly, Mary's Scotch friends most solemnly objected to the conditions of the treaty, and made demands which it would be impossible to enforce without a war against those who had hitherto been the friends of England‡.

Being well aware of this last objection, Mary's Scotch adversaries became more earnest in their opposition, on which account she writes to the Earl of Sussex on the 16th of February, 1571§, that

* Cod., 4652, p. 26.
† Ibid., p. 82.
‡ March, 1571. Cod., 4653.
§ Cod., 4652.

there was no appearance of commissioners coming from her rebels; their delay is by pretence that they are obliged to execute justice, which forces her good subjects to defend themselves, contrary to their inclination; so that if Queen Elizabeth take occasion to delay, concluding upon such things, they shall never be at an end.

What then is the inference from all this? how did the matter stand? First, it was impossible to make the Scotch and the foreign powers agree on the conditions of a treaty; it could not be concluded and enforced except in opposition to one party or the other.

Secondly. If Elizabeth supported Mary after her liberation, this would be assisting her to destroy the friends of England and the Protestant religion. On the other side, if she did not support Mary, she would apply to Spain and France, and the same result would be brought about in a still more dangerous manner by those powers.

Thirdly. If Mary did not go direct to Scotland, but to one of those countries, these events and dangers would only be put off for a short time. A civil war in Scotland seemed inevitable if Mary returned thither, and the interference of England in the end unavoidable.

Fourthly. No reflecting statesman could advocate the liberation of Mary with sentimental thoughtlessness, without considering the causes of her deposition and the consequences of her enlargement. The grounds for Mary's perpetual imprisonment were equally strong as for that of Napoleon Buonaparte 250 years after.

Could Mary have overcome her lust of power,

and resolved, like Queen Christina of Sweden, to renounce the throne, she might have enjoyed a quiet life in some place or other. But as she continually spoke of her eternal right to govern, of her sacred vow to do so, she naturally provoked inquiry into the causes from which she had ceased to govern, and excited well-founded apprehensions of her vengeance and future plans.

LETTER XXXIII.

Mary and the English Rebels—Her equivocal Behaviour—Measures against her—Intercession of the French Court.

An obstinate advocate of Mary might say, of her previous guilt I cannot and will not be convinced, and still less can anything be alleged against her since her arrival in England. She constantly assured Elizabeth of her love and friendship, and invariably expressed the greatest confidence in her. She has done nothing that ought to excite suspicion, and has offered to assent to all demands and conditions however hard. If her faithful subjects, and the foreign powers who are her friends, endeavoured to obtain more equitable conditions, who can blame them, or found upon it a reproach against Mary? Because there are no facts whatever, possibilities and conjectures are produced against her; the defence of her rights was called ambition, and concession was ascribed to a secret resolution to keep nothing that she had promised. It may serve for the more just appreciation of these conclusions if I select out of ample stores at least some extracts

from letters which Mary wrote and received at the time when she was negotiating for her liberty, when she gave Queen Elizabeth the most solemn assurances of her love and gratitude, and denied every connection with English malcontents.

On the 19th of September, 1570*, Lord Seaton writes to Mary: he tells her that the Countess of Northumberland, Elizabeth's greatest enemy, was recommended to him by her. He desires her to consider her case and that of the Earl of Westmoreland, who have no money, and tells her it is to be had from the pope.

On the following day, Seaton writes to Roulet, that the English rebels were recommended to him by Queen Mary, and that he (Nov. 6) had borrowed money of a banker to be given to Westmoreland and Northumberland.

On the 10th of October Mary thanks him for his kindness to them, as if it had been done to herself. She speaks of her friends in England being assisted by foreign force: she speaks of a new enterprise among her friends. On the 2nd of November she desires him to recommend her to Northumberland and Westmoreland, and that she will not be ungrateful to them for their good will. On the 20th of December Mary receives letters from the Countess of Northumberland: she ordered 1500*l.* to be given for the relief of the rebels.

Simultaneously with these hostile words and deeds Mary wrote the kindest letters to Elizabeth. For instance, on the 29th of December, 1570†, she says, "I rejoice that you have taken so much in-

* Cod. 4652. † Cod. 4674 and 4675.

terest in the state of my health. By the pleasure of God, and the help of your learned physicians, I am perfectly reconvalescent. Nevertheless, the principal cure and continuance of my health does consist that I might stand in your good favour." Notwithstanding this and similar flatteries (for which the pope, as we have seen, was to give pardon and absolution), the penetration of Elizabeth and her counsellors probably saw into the truth, and indications of Mary's connections with the rebels might come into their hands, and add to the already existing difficulties of a treaty.

I will not censure Mary for the total want of sincerity and love of veracity, or that she, educated in a bad school, was destitute of a true perception of generous political wisdom; but how could she, in this decisive moment, be so negligent of the most ordinary prudence, and so heedlessly undermine and defeat her own wishes?

Mary lived on without care, and affirmed that she had agreed with her son and his counsellors on all the points of the treaty. When James, however, denied that he had promised anything, or that anything had been concluded, she wrote on the 12th of March, 1571*, to Elizabeth. "The letter (from Scotland) says that the association has not passed, nor did I say it ever had, but only that my son had accepted it, and that we had come to an understanding, as is proved by the document signed by him, and his letters, as well to me as to France. He has several times testified this with his own mouth to different ambassadors and respectable

* Cod. Harl., 4678.

persons, and at the same time excused himself by saying he did not venture, through fear of you, to make anything public; he only asks for troops to resist you before he openly declares himself, being daily urged to the contrary by your ministers, who promise him that he shall be declared your heir at a conference at York. For the rest, Madam, if my child should be so unhappy as to persist in this extreme impiety and ingratitude to me, I cannot think that you, or any other prince in Christendom, would applaud and support him in it, to bring upon him my malediction, but that you will rather interpose to make him sensible what reason evidently demands before God and man. Alas! I would not take anything from him, but rather give him by right what he possesses by usurpation.

"I have entirely and truly committed myself to you; act so, if you please, that I be not worse off than before, and that the falsehood of some may not prevail with you over the truth; otherwise I shall receive evil for good, and the greatest affliction that can befal me, namely, the loss (ruin) of my son.

"I pray you, in case he should persevere in this neglect of his duty, to let me know which of us, him or me, you will recognise as legitimate (that is, as sovereign), and whether it is your pleasure to continue with me alone the negotiation commenced between us, without waiting for an answer from my ill-advised son, which I the more earnestly intreat you to do, as I feel my heart oppressed with *ennui*. For God's sake remember the promise that you gave me to take me under your protection. I depend entirely on you, and pray God that he will be

pleased to protect you against all your enemies and secret enemies (*dissimulés ennemis*); as I desire him to console me, and avenge me of those who caused such mischief between mother and son. I would not trouble you, but wish to receive some consolation from you and God, whom I again implore to protect you against all danger."

Another letter, dated the 30th of March*, contains similar complaints and assurances of sincere friendship. "God," she says, "has made me a queen. I hold my right from him, and require assistance from you as my nearest kinswoman and neighbour to restore me." Matters, however, at this time, were not in such a favourable position for Mary as she thought. So much had already come to light of her connexion with the rebels, the renewal of her plans to marry Norfolk, and to escape, or to obtain her deliverance by domestic as well as foreign aid, that much stricter precautions† were adopted. At Sheffield, to which place she had been conveyed, the attendants were not to remain assembled at night in one place, and not more than four of her suite were to accompany her armed, and none to leave the town without permission. The Earl of Shrewsbury (her present keeper) is to be informed whenever the queen walks or rides out, and any one of her servants is liable to capital punishment who, in case of a riot, is found out of his lodgings.

On the 4th of June, 1571, Mary endeavoured to justify to Burghley, both herself, and her commis-

* Cod. Harl., 4678

† The 26th of April. Cod. 4653, Queen Mary, vol. ii.

sioner, (the Bishop of Ross,) who was called to account on the 13th of May*. How unsatisfactory her excuses were considered appears from the fact that Shrewsbury announces on the 7th of August, that he opens Mary's letters, and does not allow certain envoys to speak to her except in his presence. On the 9th of September he adds, "I have removed from her some servants who were not to be depended upon, which alarmed her, as if there were some plan against her life; I however paid no regard to it, and did as I was commanded."

Mary's political demands were now indeed thrown into the background, and great stress was laid on wishes of a more trifling nature†; for instance, to go to a bathing-place, to have a French physician, &c. Her grief and her fears had besides a deeper foundation. Thus she writes to Norfolk on the 17th of May‡. "I wept so much at Northumberland's being taken prisoner, that I was all swollen three days after. I never shall change from you, but during life to be true and obedient, as I have professed§." When one of her servants told her "how he marvelled how she could love the Duke, having so foul a face," she answered, "she could like him well enough because he was wise." The Duke was, however, still more deficient in wisdom than in beauty, and which eventually was the chief cause of his ruin. In the middle of September all his papers were seized||, and six weeks afterwards Burgh-

* Cod. 4653. Queen Mary, vol. ii. † Cod. 4653.

‡ Cod. Harl., 290, p. 87.

§ Shrewsbury to Burghley, the 28th October, 1571. Queen Mary, vol. ii.

|| Burghley to Smith, in Paris. Cod. Harl., 5678. As late as the

ley received information* that Mary was to be carried to the Netherlands, and to marry John of Austria.

Respecting the treatment of Mary, the arrest of the Bishop of Ross†, &c., Elizabeth had already, in June, caused a communication to be made to the French court, which led to various negotiations of the French ambassadors Montmorency, Foys, and Lamotte. After they had executed their commission in London, Burghley answered‡:—

"In the treaties with France there is no mention of Mary. She has behaved ill, and contrived conspiracies against the person of our queen and her state, though at the time when Mary was a prisoner in Scotland she did all in her power to prevent her being put to death. In the same manner, when the Earl of Murray came through London after Darnley's death, Elizabeth compelled him by threats to promise her that Mary should not be put to death. The Scotch, however, accused her of the murder of the king her husband, and adultery with the principal murderer. She has now resigned Scotland to her son. This resignation has been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom, he is crowned, and all have taken the oath of allegiance to him."

The French ambassadors endeavoured to contra-

11th of October the Bishop of Ross, in a letter to Norfolk, expresses the hope that Burghley will further his views of marriage with Mary. Elizabeth, however, feared they would be too powerful. Cod. 4653. Norfolk, in a confession of the 10th of November, declares that Leicester had recommended the marriage to him. Queen Mary, vol. i.

* Cod. 4653, to the 9th of November.

† The 9th of June. Cod. 4653. It is there said of the Bishop of Ross: "He has been an incendiary, has been engaged in the rebellion of the north, entered in secret practice with some of the nobility," &c.

‡ Raumer's Letters, ii. 118.

dict some points, to correct others, and said that they could not judge of Mary's conduct and the rights of her son, and possessed no proofs on these points. They now contented themselves with requesting that the queen might be permitted to receive from France clothes, money, and other necessaries; that she might keep male and female attendants suitable to her rank; have liberty to walk out, and to send an ambassador to London to conduct her affairs. Burghley replied provisionally to all these points, and the last official declaration is to the following effect:—"The Queen of England is content that the friends of Mary shall send her whatever she may want for her clothing, for her health, or otherwise for her personal use; also such sums of money as may suffice for her reasonable expenses; she may also keep male and female attendants, provided they are known to some of the counsellors of Elizabeth, or to the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the queen now resides. Mary may also walk out either in company of the Earl, or as may be compatible with his duty as her keeper, and this liberty will always continue, unless she and her ministers give just occasion, as has several times happened, to restrict it. The queen may have as many servants as she pleases, provided the Earl of Shrewsbury has not reason to fear such intrigues as several of her attendants have already ventured to attempt." This number was indeed not very limited, for Mary writes on the 13th of May, 1571*, "I have only thirty persons of both sexes to attend upon me."

Subsequently, Elizabeth refused the French am-

* MS. in Aix, No. 105.

bassador Fenelon to see Mary and to go to Scotland. In justification of this proceeding she wrote to Henry III.* "It appears strange to us that at the moment when a greater degree of friendship is to be established between us and our subjects†, a matter which has been so long at rest should be revived. We are asked for something which, as everybody perceives, can only serve to give importance to her who, by her secret intrigues and public acts, shows herself to be our declared enemy. This by no means accords with the friendship which you otherwise express for us. All things considered, hardly any prince would have shown such lenity to a person who endeavoured by all possible means to undermine the security of his state. We therefore hope, with good reason, that you will not require anything from us that can tend to the advantage and encouragement of our most dangerous enemy."

That the King of France did not consider Mary's personal wishes as the principal point, but the connexion between France and Scotland, is evident from the fact that, on the 28th of October, 1571‡, he instructed his ambassador to oppose some articles of the treaty projected with Mary, especially the sending of James to England. For, adds he, if the English carry this point, they will have nothing more to desire.

* Museum Harleian. MS. Cot. 787, without date.

† By a marriage with the Duke of Alençon. ‡ Cod. 4653.

LETTER XXXIV.

France and England—Elizabeth's Justification—Declaration of Catherine of Medicis.

THE important question, whether the King of France was able or willing to do anything for Mary, and to what extent, was carefully weighed and discussed in the English councils. In a document*, probably composed by Burghley, all the motives are first stated for which he might zealously espouse her cause, and then the contrary motives enumerated which might restrain and deter him. I will at least make some extracts from the acute and judicious argument:—

"Not to speak of other points (honour, affinity, &c.), it may be affirmed that it is an evil example of subjects to depose their princes, and that Mary is innocent of all that is laid to her charge. In answer it may be said—First, Truth it is that it is an evil example for subjects to deprive their princes in case they behave themselves well, and so other princes are bound to assist them as long as their lawful government continues; but contrariwise, *cum merito et causa periant*, and are for their tyranny, murder, poisoning, and other enormous faults, deprived, princes are not bound to recommend or aid them; neither is this contrary to their honour and alliance, which indeed are, or ought to be, chiefly and only to maintain in Christendom, good princes, and lawful governments.

"Secondly. For her enormities, seeing the commission is only to charge her for those her last

* Cod. Harl., 4111.

doings in England, it is sufficient to say, that if it would please the King of France to be informed of her behaviour in Scotland, the king would perchance find such matter against her for which, if it be true, Brunehild was for the like offences torn to pieces with horses, Joanna of Naples hanged, a queen of Hungary drowned, the wife of Louis Hutin condemned to perpetual imprisonment."

There are besides many instances in which, for smaller offences, crowns have been transferred to children and relations, &c.

It was probably in consequence of such considerations that Elizabeth, on the 3rd of December, 1571, sent to Thomas Smith, her ambassador at Paris, instructions of the following tenor*:—"Remember you of the following points, in what sort the Scottish Queen was recently entered into a strait intelligence and confederation with the King of Spain, and particularly wrought by the Spanish Ambassador here resident, and certain other ministers of the King of Spain. With the Duke of Alva how they intended to procure her son to be conveyed into Spain, and to be in the King of Spain's hands and order. However, she had made a full determination in nowise to be directed by the French King, although she would pretend otherwise, but to have all her doings kept secret from France. Whereof, in her writing and messages, she gave great charge to the Duke of Norfolk and to her ministers, who she meant to keep the King of Spain in expectation that she would marry with Don John of Austria, and yet let the Duke of Norfolk understand that she meant

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 115.

that but for a colour, for that she yielded herself to him. Besides this, she has practised with the Duke of Norfolk upon colour of an alteration of religion in this our realm, thereby to have aid from the Pope and King of Spain; and to have a rebellion moved in this realm, about August last, and our city of London, namely, to have been taken; so a certain number of soldiers, strangers, to the amount of ten thousand, whereof three or four thousand should have been horsemen, might have been gotten from the King of Spain, to have been landed in a part of our realm next adjoining to Flanders, from where the same power should have been sent by sea.

"And for the obtaining whereof, the said queen's letters, and the duke's, with instructions in writing (the true copies whereof were found about the duke), were sent in April last, by an Italian, to the Duke of Alva, which had continued here secretly unknown to us, till now of late, in the name of the pope, with permission from the pope to dispense his bulls and instruments secretly for the withdrawing off our people from their duty and allegiance. And from the Duke of Alva answers came by several letters, sent by the said Italian, of his assent and well-liking of all and the whole intentions, pretending, nevertheless, at the same time, that without special commandment from the King of Spain he could not well send any number of soldiers out of the Low Countries, for some jealousy he then had of the French King, for some attempt he feared there was in hand towards the Low Countries; and so concluded by advice that the heads of the rebellion here in England should keep their purpose very secret, especially from the French, and the messenger might go to

Rome for aid or money, and to the King of Spain both for his authority and increase of number of soldiers to be sent out of Spain. And so, according to his order, the messenger was sent to Rome, where means were made, upon letters sent both from the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, to the pope, for a mass of money for entertainment of the said army. And from them answer was sent in the beginning of May, by express letters from the pope, both to the said queen and the Duke of Norfolk, that he also did very well like of the enterprise, and would spare no charge to put it in execution, wishing to have the purpose thereof secretly continued; though presently he was occupied in promissions for setting forth the armies against the Turks. That he could not at that instant give such present support of money as was required, but he would direct the messenger with earnest letters to the King of Spain. And so the messenger departed into Spain, where also he found some impediments, for the present time; and it was the will of God to permit such impediments to happen, as it could not then take place, as the parties did desire; so was it his special goodness about the same time, to discover the attempts to us when they should have been executed, which was in August last.

"Of all these things you can (when you shall declare them at more length) show good proofs there of your own knowledge, both for the letters, commissions, and instructions which you have seen from the Scottish queen, and for the confessions of the duke himself, and his ministers, of his and their doings, and of the Bishop of Ross himself, concerning all these particularities above expressed. And in

setting forth hereof you shall make it appear, and conclude with that king, how dangerously the Queen of Scots hath sought our ruin and destruction, and how, of mere necessity, we must provide for our own surety against her and her parties. And so, to conclude with the king, you shall say for us that howsoever he be moved and solicited to entreat us for her delivery and restoration to her realm, we doubt not but he will also therewith consider that we may not yield to think it either reasonable or friendly to request us, that having our crown and realm in quiet possession, we should in any respect prefer the weal of her that is our open mortal enemy, before our own surety shall be otherwise provided for, which, by God's goodness, we mean so to do as shall be both to the pleasure of Almighty God, and to the satisfaction of all indifferent persons that shall behold our doings. Neither can we in conscience (though we should forget ourself) assent to have her now erected up in such estate as she desireth, thereby to raise up a bloody war in our realm, whereof we have many and sufficient proofs of her certain intentions and full determinations. And though we have thus declared unto you this matter in the beginning of this instruction, yet you shall not proceed to the declaration thereof until you have entered into the speech of the principal matter of your message, which is the matter of the marriage.

"Whereupon the king doth so often press us, not only for the delivery and restitution of the Scottish Queen to her realm, but also to forbear any manner of aiding of the young king or his parties in Scotland: and hereunto as we have divers times made sufficient answers to this French Ambassador here

resident (although he hath not seemed satisfied therewith), so shall you understand also the substance of the same, with some further matter, as the present time is to enforce the same. As to the Queen of Scots' delivery, before time that we had discovered those her late malicious attempts in her confederacies against us, we did never refuse to yield to some reasonable end to be made betwixt us and her, and also betwixt her and her subjects, and surely the lack that our intention took no place, was not in our default, as is manifestly known. But now, since we have found her secret dealing, whilst we were occupied to compound the matter betwixt her and her subjects, and to have also assented to her offers for our own particular, how dangerously we had concluded the bargain to our own ruin, and to the overthrow of her own estate, we have just cause not to be hasty herein, and cannot by any solicitation be brought to deal for her delivery until our own surety shall (be?) better provided for; and with this resolute answer (you) must require the king to be satisfied."

On the 14th of December, 1571, the Spanish Ambassador, Don Guerau de Espes*, was ordered to depart, for reasons which appeared most weighty even to his countrymen, and on the 20th of March, 1572, Elizabeth wrote to Paris†:—"In Lord Seaton's papers I have found such matter to prove the earnest contrivance and prosecution of her procedure against us;" on the 3rd of April, Smith tells Catherine de Medicis, "that in his mistress's name he (Seaton?) had assured the Duke of Alva that

* Memorias, vii. 368. † Cod. 4678.

with a small power they might bring into his hand the young King of Scotland, and so carry him into Spain, and that she will shortly return into Scotland." The English Ambassador having stated and related at Blois all that had been imparted to him respecting Queen Mary, he demanded of Queen Catherine whether, if she were in Elizabeth's place, she would have liberated the prisoner? Catherine replied that the French court knew nothing of those plans (with Spain, Northumberland, Norfolk, &c.), and would be very far from giving countenance to such contrivances. She owned that Queen Mary was her relation and the king's, and had received her education in France, so that they could not do less than seek her liberty. But now she is sorry that she takes the ready way for her own ruin, to hurt her friends, and discourage them from affording her any pity or favour. Since she is so dangerous that neither she nor her son could desire her liberty, yet if Elizabeth, by her own inclination, would give her liberty and life, it would be a merciful action, but in that they would trouble Elizabeth no further.

LETTER XXXV.

Norfolk—Mary's Complaints—Elizabeth's Answer—Hearing of Mary.

Thus Mary had nothing more to hope from France or Spain, and Norfolk at length atoned with his life for his offences and his follies. "Mary was so affected that she came not out of her bed-chamber

for a long time upon news of sentence against the duke *."

Norfolk wished to have an advocate to conduct his process; but Catelin, the Lord Chief Justice, and Dier, Chief Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, unanimously "declared that it could not be allowed by law †." Twenty-five lords, among whom were Kent, Sussex, Huntingdon, Bedford, Pembroke, Effingham, Burghley, Leicester, &c., pronounced him guilty. Norfolk was the first who was impeached and executed in this manner in the reign of Elizabeth. He declared upon the scaffold, "I acknowledge that my peers have justly condemned me to death, and I do not excuse myself."

In another last declaration of Norfolk, he says ‡— "If I had been one of the peers, and another in my place, if I had credited the witnesses, as I think they did, considering the concurring of the presumptions, I would have done as they did. For indeed, (as is said in my arraignment,) I, with worldly wisdom seeking to escape the less danger, cast myself headlong in the suspicion of a greater. I was again drawn in the dangerous course of the Scottish Queen, as at length does appear by my declaration, &c. So that I, having been driven anew to have intelligence with the Queen of Scotland and her ministers, contrary to my duty and promise to her majesty, I was enforced, for fear that Barker or the

* Ralph Sadler to Burghley, the 14th Jan. 1572. Cod. 4653.

† Cod. Harl., 2194, p. 27.

‡ Cod. 4808, p. 179. This last declaration of Norfolk was to be kept secret for the present, but it does not appear to whose keeping he entrusted it.

Bishop of Ross at any time should discover this my new intelligence, they having my head thereby under their girdle; to conceal those things which in the end gave those violent presumptions against me, to concur with their false accusations against me, in divers essential points."

Thus Norfolk was the fourth man in Great Britain whom Mary's real or feigned attachment had cost his life or liberty. What neither the rebellion of the English nor the assistance of foreign powers could effect, was now to be brought about by a series of letters full of complaints addressed to Elizabeth. Thus Castellaneuf, a French physician in Mary's service, wrote to Burghley, in December, 1571*—That the health of the queen was suffering "by close confinement, want of air, and grief. He writes he has no medicines, nor is he allowed to go out to procure any, nor to send those he could trust, so that he has it not in his power to do her any service. He desires these things may be represented to Elizabeth, who, he hopes, will grant upon this occasion more favourable treatment to his mistress."

Mary herself wrote in a much more serious and urgent manner to Elizabeth on the 27th of November, 1571†:—"Madam,—Seeing the small account that during all this time you have made of me, of my letters, ministers' remonstrances, and humble requests; nay, that you have even disdained to answer me, either yourself or through others, and treat me worse and worse, I had resolved to trouble you no further, or to distress myself any longer in vain, but to suffer what God is pleased to send me through

* Cod. 4653. † Cod. 4678.

your hands, into which I delivered myself in good faith. On the other hand, as a proof of that patience which God has been pleased to give me, not being willing to omit anything becoming a princess, who is desirous to imitate in all points the virtuous; and representing to myself that, as a Christian, I have need of charity and humility, and as a woman, ought to seek by all lawful means peace and public tranquillity. Besides, I am not a little impelled by the present season, in which, by the nativity of the King of kings, universal peace was proclaimed to the world. Nor must I forget, with these considerations for discharging our conscience, that notwithstanding the evil you have done me, I am your cousin, nay, the nearest kinswoman that you have in the world, and that formerly you professed to love me, giving credit to which I afforded you means, but not motives, to ill-treat and imprison me.

"Having reflected on all these things, with my natural inclination to honour and seek you, when you shall please to take these demonstrations in good part, I have undertaken once more to place before your eyes the wrong which you have done me, the justice of my cause, and the integrity of my conduct, which, though it was not agreeable to you, never tended, as you have been persuaded, to do you any wrong, nor have I done anything unworthy of a good kinswoman. You will please justly to consider this, to relax a little in your anger, and think what you would do in my case. I am convinced that your judgment is so good that you will condemn yourself, for having disdained and insulted me, in refusing to admit me to your presence, when I offered, through Lord Burghley and Mr. Mildmay,

to unburden my heart to you. I had given myself up entirely to you, signed the articles with my own hand, nay, offered you my only treasure* (joyau), a proof of my inviolable friendship and strict alliance with you. Instead of accepting and concluding on your part, you have, contrary to your promise (pardon me, it is no longer time to dissemble), suffered my rebellious subjects to depart without my consent, and without doing anything to secure the maintenance of tranquillity on their part, but on the contrary, promising to reconcile them with me, nevertheless encouraging them, and approving the robbery of Donchester.

"I pass over the preceding insults and those which have since been directed against my own person and honour in defamatory libels, and against my ministers and servants, to come to the declaration which I made when Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay came to Chatsworth. I take them to witness whether I did not show them, by all means, my extreme desire not only to please you but to devote myself to you with my whole heart. God is my witness if I had not the same intention, without fraud, or thought of breaking off on my part, of seeking any other aid or alliance than yours. And whatever may be said to you, on my honour and salvation I say the truth, and you will not find it otherwise. But when I say you mocked me by delays, would not confirm anything between us, but dismissed my enemies with advantageous assurances, and intended to give me only words, (I do not say this at random, for I have good proofs of it,) what could I hope further, recollecting so

* By this I understand her son James.

many other vain expectations, as when I sent to France for attestations, commanded my good and faithful subjects to desist from hostilities against my rebels, in conformity with your wishes, and you gave me just occasion to ask aid and support from all my friends and allies? In all this I knew how to do nothing but what I had already mentioned, written, promised, and assured you of through the Lords Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, Burghley, and Mildmay, and what you know yourself through the remonstrances of the Duke of Chatellerault, Lord Herries, Boyd, and all my ambassadors and commissioners.

"Since four years I have done nothing but lament that you have denied me assistance, and that I, to my great sorrow, should be compelled to seek it elsewhere, of which you, Madam, might complain and accuse me. If I had done so I should not have been unfaithful to my word; now, on the contrary, you ought to be sensible that I am not one of those who speak one thing and do another; and I again swear to you that I neither have dissembled with you, nor yet will do so. I have offered to you everything in my power, and if you would have accepted it, would have faithfully performed it. This is still my sincere intention towards you, if you will receive me as your relation and true friend, which I say openly and without fear or flattery, for my heart is not capable of either the one or the other; and so I would willingly forget all past affronts, and, as far as lies in my power, offer you what would do you honour and pleasure, and remove all suspicion from you or your country.

"All this I represent to you to show you my natural affection towards you, and also to avoid all

inconveniences to the prejudice of all parties, which might ensue to the detriment of this island.

"If you would subdue your anger and ill-treat nobody on my account, I would more than ever seek your favour and try to please you. If my offers, remonstrances, excuses, and arguments are welcome to you, I will again begin with you without deceit*, and esteem and honour you more than ever. That you may not believe that I flatter you through fear of something worse, instead of speaking sincerely, I am obliged to tell you that if you do not think fit to have regard to me, you may render my life little honourable, wretched, and intolerable, but not my heart. Having done my duty in showing you the inconveniences, and made offers to you to obviate them betimes, I pray to God that he may move you to take advice, for his glory, your honour, the public utility, and my liberation. If it be your pleasure to give me an answer, which I humbly request, I will endeavour more completely to testify my devotion to you, and will strive to recover and merit your favour. If you should think fit to refrain from answering me, as you have hitherto done, I shall consider it as irrevocably lost. From Sheffield, in prison. Your very good sister and affectionate friend, if you please,—M. R."

If we impartially consider this letter, we may take one point, according to Mary's assertion, as certain, namely, that she sincerely wished to be reconciled to Elizabeth, and to conclude an advantageous treaty. But it must strike everybody who is not to be caught by vain words, that she wholly

* Je recommenceral de nouveau sans feindre avecque vous.

passes over in silence all the obstacles proceeding from the Scotch, French, and Spaniards, lays all the blame upon Elizabeth, and (not to speak of the preceding enormities) boldly protests her innocence and friendly sentiments, while she did all that we have above related against Elizabeth, and even her nearest relations no longer had the courage to take her part. On the 1st of February, 1572, Elizabeth, after a minute of Burghley, answered as follows:—*

"Madam—Of late time I have received divers letters of you, to which you may well guess, by the accidents of the times, why I have not made any answer, but specially because I saw no matter in them that required any such answer as could have contented you; and to have discontented you had been but an increase of your impatience, which I thought time would have mitigated, as it doth commonly when the cause thereof is not duly grounded, and that it be so understood. But now finding by your last letter of the 27th past, an increase of your impatience, leading also to many uncomely, passionate, and vindictive speeches, I thought to change my former opinion, and by patient and advised words to move you to stay, or else to qualify, your passions, and to consider that it is not the manner to obtain good things with evil speeches, nor benefits with injurious challenges, nor to get good to yourself, with doing evil to another. And yet to avoid a fault which I note you have committed in filling a long letter with a multitude of sharpened and injurious words, I will not, by way of letter, write any more

* Queen Mary, vol. ii.

of the matter, but have charged the Earl of Shrewsbury with what is necessary for you."

The issue of this correspondence was, that a series of articles of accusation was laid before Mary, to which, at first, as an independent queen, she would not answer; and then, as she had always done, asserted that she had not been to blame in any case; that she had assumed the crown and title of England at the instance of her relations*, and was ready to renounce her claim to the throne during the life of Elizabeth. She had not indeed asked Elizabeth concerning her marriage with Norfolk, but her only intention had been to quiet the country. She had not encouraged and supported the rebels, but recommended them to the Earl of Northumberland and the Duke of Alva. She had written to foreign powers and to the pope, merely on account of her liberation, that she had not been the cause of bulls against Elizabeth, &c.

These and similar assertions obtained neither regard nor credit in the face of facts; on which account Elizabeth wrote to Mary on the 7th of June, 1572†, "that she had received so many wrongs of Mary, her life, crown, and kingdom were in such danger by her attempts, that the present parliament has frequently desired her to fall upon such ways as might secure herself from such dangerous attempts for the future. She knew of such practices before, but concealed the knowledge of them. All princes cannot but blame her too great lenity and so small concern for her own conservation and peace of her

* Cod. Harl., 4111, to the 11th and 17th of June; and Queen Mary, vol. ii., the 14th of February.

† Cod. 4653.

kingdom. She sends her, with the commissioner above-mentioned, the principal matters she is charged with, and desires she may give direct answers, and requires her to make no delays by frivolous answers."

LETTER XXXVI.

The Council, Clergy, and Parliament against Mary—Violent Publications against her.

In judging of the relations between Mary and Elizabeth, it is generally assumed that injustice, intrigue, and violence proceeded from the latter. This, however, is directly false; we have seen, for instance, what judicious advice Elizabeth gave at the time of Rizzio and Darnley; how severely she judged of the insurrection against Mary, how seriously she exhorted her not to give double weight to the accusations against her by obstinate silence; and how willingly she would have removed Mary from England by a convention, the chief difficulties of which did not proceed from her. The time was indeed past, (unless by drinking from Lethe,) when Mary could prove her innocence by mere words. Elizabeth, however, always preserved moderation in her words and deeds, while officers of state and bishops, the parliament, authors, and people, thought, spoke, and wrote in a very different manner. I subjoin some striking instances:—

Burghley writes to Leicester on the 8th of November, 1572*:—"If her majesty will continue her delays in providing for her own surety by just means

* Cod. 4678.

given to her by God, she and we all shall vainly call upon God when the calamity shall fall upon us. God send her the strength of mind to preserve God's cause, her own life, and the lives of millions of good subjects, all which are most manifestly in danger, and that only by her delays; and so consequently she shall be the cause of the overthrow of a noble crown and realm, which shall be a prey to all that can invade it. God be merciful to us!"

What does this letter prove (some will perhaps object) but that Lord Burghley was more timorous, mean-spirited, and led away by passion than Elizabeth—that in fact he was not the great statesman that he is represented to be? But do these arrogant censurers consider or know when Burghley wrote this sorrowful ejaculation for his queen and his country? He wrote it at the time when three of the first English noblemen, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Norfolk, had suffered themselves to be misled to the crime of high treason—when Mary, in union with them, fancied that she should prevail—when Alba was preparing to attack England—and when Mary's nearest relations of the same religion with herself had just contrived and executed in cold blood the most enormous crime recorded in the history of the world—the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Before we pass judgment upon persons, we ought to become acquainted with them, and also with the times in which they lived, thought, and acted.

In comparison with all other persons in England, Burghley and Elizabeth were unquestionably the most moderate. As early as the 20th of May, 1572, the House of Lords and the clergy presented to the

queen a remonstrance*, in which, quoting sentences and examples from the Bible, they "endeavoured to move the queen's conscience to proceed with severity in the case of Mary. Small punishment, they say, for a great offence, in respect of any person is partiality, and slack justice, which God above all things in judgment forbiddeth. Consider not, says God, the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the rich, but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour. Wherefore, whether the late Queen of Scotland be queen or subject, a stranger or citizen, be kin or not kin, by God's word for so great offence she should have the just deserved punishment, and that in the highest degree. She has loaded herself with adultery, murder, conspiracies, treasons, blasphemies."

In the same manner the parliament and council presented repeated remonstrances to Elizabeth, in which, after enumerating all historical particulars, many passages of Scripture†, examples, judgments and opinions of lawyers and divines, they declare—"That whereas Mary most wickedly, falsely, and unjustly has claimed the present state and possession of your crown and realm, and most untruly and injuriously usurped the style and arms of your nation, has not yet departed from her demands, and not signed the articles drawn up, but through her officers and writers has endeavoured still to prove her pretensions, and though well received in England, contrived new intrigues; after her dismission of the crown of Scotland for manifold and horrible crimes and disorders, forgotten all gratitude,

* Queen Mary, vol. ii. † Cod. 4111, p. 37.

sought by subtle and crafty means to withdraw the late Duke of Norfolk, now justly attainted of high treason, from his true and natural obedience—formed matrimonial projects contrary to her promise—had a criminal correspondence with the pope—caused the rebellion of Westmoreland and Northumberland, in order to overthrow true religion and expel Elizabeth. She has sent them money for this purpose, promised them foreign aid, and founded her rebellious plans on the deposition of Elizabeth by the pope.

"All which her most seditious and desperate practices have by her own letters and instructions, and by the free, voluntary, and plain confessions of divers of her confederates and ministers, most amply, largely, and truly been proved. Elizabeth is therefore requested to proceed against and punish Mary according to the laws, solemnly to annihilate now and for ever her pretensions to the English throne, to pass laws against her adherents, &c."

Elizabeth did not accede to these requests, but wrote, as I have already observed, to Mary, that the principal articles of accusation should be laid before her, and that she should give due answer to Lord Warren and other commissioners.

In a letter addressed to Mary on this subject, it is observed—"However this our proceeding (though to all others, both abroad and in our realm, it may seem not needful, considering the notoriousness of your facts and attempts against us) may discontent you at first, yet we, setting apart all intention of revenge, and meaning nothing more than to satisfy all parts of honour, gentleness, and mildness, do require you to deal directly and plainly in making your answers to

the matters that to you shall be declared, without increasing the nature of the offences and injuries by any inordinate usage in cavillations or frivolous answers, by which your cause cannot be but impaired, and so we but enforced to increase our just offence against you."

The most violent language with respect to Mary and the state of things of that time, is that of the anonymous author of the letter which was probably addressed to the Earl of Leicester*. It was written twelve days after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which must be borne in mind, to understand the form and contents fully. It runs thus:—"There is here such common lamenting, such remembrance backward, such seeing forward, such ominous fear of our queen, that for my own part I can speak with no man, and yet I speak with many, but they all hold it for a most certain respect that our princess's life is in peril, and that her own safety is with speed to execute the dangerous traitoress and pestilence of Christendom. And that if it be not speedily done, loyalty is discouraged, and true faith put out of hope, &c. It cannot be but that the Scottish Queen is appointed upon to be the means to overthrow religion and to advance all papistry. Our good queen's life is the only impediment; what will not Papists do to remove any impediment to that desire? When Elizabeth is dead, two kingdoms joined in Mary, she in marriage to one that gapes for Spain, or the other that longeth for France, what security is there for Christians?

"Think you, beside the zeal of papistry, that these

* Cod. Harl., 4678.

ambitious hopes of earthly kingdoms will not carry them to attempt the murder (Oh! sorrow) of our princess, who so much despiseth her own life? Will it not stir them forward whom no virtue, no pity, no honesty, no dutiful, no gracious, no merciful respect can hold back?

"Mary is now free from known contracts, for herself counteth Bothwell but as her fornicator, for else she could not have contracted with the Duke of Norfolk. It is likely then that some contract, if not an adoption like the example of Joan of Naples, shall, or is already, perhaps, practised with some mighty one, for example, Monsieur, or Don John of Austria. So is there no remedy for the queen, for our realm of Christendom, but the due execution of the Scottish Queen.

"God forbid that our queen should so lose the honour of her gracious government that posterity should say that she had destroyed herself, had undone her realm, had overthrown all Christianity in Christendom, if she do not duly and speedily execute the Scottish Queen. Let her majesty be prayed to remember conscience and eternity. God forbid so grievous a thing as for her to carry out of this world to God's judgment the guiltiness of so much noble and innocent blood as has and shall be spilt; of so great waste, spoil, and destruction of England her charge; of so many murders, rapes, robberies, violent and barbarous slaughter of all sorts, sexes, and ages likely to happen: and what worse is, of the damnation of so many seduced souls, both here and in the whole Christendom, by advancing of papistry and withdrawing of true religion; and all for piteous pity and miserable mercy in sparing

one horrible woman, that carries God's wrath where she goeth; the sparing of whom has been told us by God's messengers to be a failing of God's service, who hath not for nothing delivered her into his minister's hands and miraculously detected her treason, either to have his people preserved by her due execution, or to add more inexcusableness to them that preserve her to waste the church of God. Here is justice in right course, not so much to punish offence past, as to provide for universal safety to come.

"Here is true mercy to relieve so many, so great, so apparent dangers and miseries, &c. The delivering the earth from a devouring, wasting, unfeeling, destroying monster of unthankfulness, is a far more glorious act than all the labours of Hercules, or than any one victory of the noblest prince that ever served God. Will Elizabeth leave England and us all subject to an adulterous traitoress, a seeker of the life of her own saviour, one irritated tyrant (and shall I say all in one word?)—the Scottish Queen? Shall we not trust that her majesty, our mother, will not stick to command to kill a toad, a snake, or a mad dog, whom she findeth poisoning or gnawing the throats of her infants, and presently threatening the same to her life?"

LETTER XXXVII.

Situation of the World and Mary—Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon.

The pamphlet against Mary, from which we have taken the above extracts, shows the great excitement

of the minds of the people. Was this excitement unnatural? who caused it? what was at stake? Burghley was a man, in the full sense of the expression, and yet what care and anxiety had taken possession of his soul! If Mary had been at this moment free —if she had been Queen of England, she would not have purified the several Christian confessions and brought them back to the centre of Christian charity; but hand in hand with Philip II., Catherine of Medicis, and Charles IX., secret treachery and open murder, the axe and the stake, would have been employed as the sole infallible means for the education of the human race. The bloody forms of Chastellart, of Rizzio, of Darnley, of Norfolk, and of Bothwell raving in chains, would have required, with redoubled energy, severe penance from the queen, again plunged in worldly pursuits; and the penance for those marriages of folly and passion, Mary, like those who entertained similar sentiments in France, Spain, and the Netherlands, would probably have found in such *autos da fé* and wholesale massacres, as Brussels, Madrid, and Paris at that time witnessed, and which the infatuated pope recommended and extolled.

Mary Stuart is a *person*, and as such it cannot be said that too little interest has been taken in her; but with this person were connected the fate of millions, the form of the world, the civilization of centuries. These infinitely important facts ought not to be overlooked, by him who now enjoys his personal, intellectual, and religious freedom.

The cares of a world, of the present and the future, lay upon Elizabeth and Burghley, and yet,

as we have said, they were the mildest and most moderate. They refused what the clergy, the parliament, and the people loudly demanded and approved. Elizabeth had twice refused to yield to public opinion, which demanded the death of Mary, had resisted it, and saved the life of a dangerous enemy. If Mary had been able, or rather willing, to convince herself, of what was beyond all doubt, that she (after all that had been done, and proved, or at least believed against her) must absolutely renounce her pretensions to the thrones of Scotland and England, she would have preferred a quiet life, and not have ventured again into the dangers of political storms.

After the failure of all attempts in and out of England, Mary herself appears to have felt the weight of these considerations and arguments; for a period of ten years, from 1572 to 1582, is, in comparison with preceding and subsequent periods, almost free from political intrigues*.

In proportion as all the English Protestants considered Mary to be incapable and unworthy of the throne, the idea gained more and more ground that Elizabeth ought to marry and put an end to all pretensions.

Yet Walsingham writes to the Earl of Sussex on the 11th of March, 1575, respecting a conspiracy against Elizabeth, and complains that "she makes so light of the matter, which I take to be a kind of watch-word, that our travail therein will be of no great purpose. And I protest before God I malice none of the parties detected, but rather lament them, as one that taketh no delight in others' troubles. But when I consider that the troubles of a few may avoid a general trouble, I prefer general respects before particular." Cod. Harl. 6991, p. 64.

Of all the plans for the marriage of Queen Elizabeth*, that with Francis Duke of Alençon was entertained the longest and the most seriously. There are in the MSS. very long discussions both for and against the plan, from which it may suffice to extract the most interesting particulars.

In the instructions which Elizabeth sent in June, 1573, to Mr. Horsey, her ambassador at Paris, it is observed†:—"The King of France and the queen mother write that Elizabeth may give some assurance of the success of the proposed marriage, in case Alençon should come to England. But the queen cannot bind herself, and the persecution of the Protestants in France has so alienated the hearts of her subjects, that the duke's arrival in England would rather lessen the existing friendship than strengthen it. He must also give better proofs of his moderation respecting religion than his siege of Rochelle affords; or will he come here as a suitor, with his hands and sword stained with the blood of those who profess our religion?"

Soon afterwards there is a long series of questions and answers, which appear to be official, relative not only to political but to personal matters. Opposite to the remark that Alençon's face is disfigured by the small-pox, is the answer, the queen may see, to satisfy herself or not‡.

Many, however, considered the marriage to be necessary. Thus Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador, writes from Paris on the 20th of July, 1578: "I must confess that our wretched and

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 121. † Bibl. Cot., Caligula, E. vi.
‡ Pourra être vu par la reine, pour s'en contenter ou non.

wavering state calls for a speedy and honourable marriage*."

A letter from M. de Castelnau to the Earl of Sussex speaks of the most faithful and firm attachment which a prince, deeply in love, can feel for his bride. This is your and his queen†, as she will see from his letters, which are enough to soften a frozen rock.

On the 1st of June, 1580, a confidant of Alençon writes‡:—"The queen said to me she wished every day to see you; she desires nothing so much; yet people might come near each other without having children." (This seems to be the meaning, though the words are obscure.) "Mais qui puisse en approcher, vous voudroit voir près, et il se pouvait faire sans enfans." It seems that she apprehends, from her bodily conformation, that it would be her death.

Another document relative to Alençon of the same year probably refers to the same subject: it states that Elizabeth had expressly declared that the marriage contract should not bind her to complete the marriage, till she and Alençon had mutually explained and satisfied each other on some particular points§.

In the succeeding years the negotiation was carried on with still more activity. In May, 1581, Elizabeth said to the French envoy||, "The duke's religion and his disputes with Spain, in which I will

* Caligula, E. vii. † To 1580. Bibl. Cott., Titus, B. vii.

‡ Probably by Marchaumont, his ambassador. Bibl. Cott., Galba, E. vi., fol. 15.

§ Mutuellement éclaircis est satisfaits de quelques choses particulières, Galba, E. vi., fol. 34, probably belongs to 1581.

|| Pinart dépêches, Bibl. roy. vol. 8811.

not take part, are hinderances to the marriage. I also see that my subjects would not approve of it; and as I love them more than my own life, I avoid everything that may be displeasing to them. Lastly, I am afraid that I am too much advanced in years to please the duke, on which subject I have written him a very long letter."

In the same month (Report of 21st of May) Elizabeth apologized for the delay, alleging that she must have the advice of her council and the parliament upon the matter. She then added: "At the time when proposals were first made from the duke to the Netherlands, he acquainted me with all the particulars. I, however, always told him, that without the advice and consent of the King of France, and of his mother, he would not be successful. Yet I wished that Henry III. would support him, as I will never abandon him."

On the 12th of July, 1581, Henry III. thanks the Earl of Leicester for his good services with respect to the marriage*, and begs him to complete the work. On the 6th of May, 1582, Catherine writes to M. de Mauvissiere: "Though my son is gone to Flanders, contrary to my advice and to my great vexation, I, however, thank the Queen of England for the friendship which she has shown him, and for having provided him with everything necessary for his journey. I am equally obliged to her for having written to the Prince of Orange, to take care that my son may not entangle himself in any business from which he cannot disengage himself with honour and safety."

* Pinart dépêches, Bibl. roy. vol. 8810.

In a subsequent letter to the same (16th of May, 1582), Henry III. complains that Elizabeth delays the marriage. She herself said to M. de Mauvissiere: "If this summer passes over without my marrying, no more must be thought of it." Henry also stated that his brother had entirely given up the enterprise in Flanders, and would remain in England if Elizabeth married him. Instead of taking him at his word, she answered, that he hazarded his reputation if he retired; and now she calls the war in Flanders unjust, and affirms that she should lose all the affection of her subjects if she applied to parliament for money to support it.

Some letters of Catherine and Henry III., of 1583, testify their extreme dissatisfaction with what Alençon had done at Antwerp*.

In the last letter relative to this matter, which is of the 9th of August, 1583, Catherine writes to Mauvissiere, that the English ambassador, Mr. Cobham, had openly and honestly declared to her, "that as the king, my son, had no children, Alençon ought to marry a younger woman than Elizabeth. I answered, conformably to the truth, that, notwithstanding this, we still wished the marriage to take place."

All this intercourse with the Duke of Alençon cost Elizabeth large sums†, and when he died he owed her 700,000 francs.

In the instructions‡ which Henry III. gave to Cardinal Gondy, his ambassador to Rome in 1588, it is said, that Queen Elizabeth encouraged the

* Pinart dépêches, Bibl. roy. vol. 8811. † Galba, E. vi. 239.
‡ Dupuy, vol. 121.

king's brother to interfere in the affairs of the Netherlands, and supported him in such a manner with money, men, and ships, that the result would have been very different if the king had not opposed the enterprise.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Correspondence between Mary and her Relations and Ambassadors.

From the negotiation of Elizabeth's marriage I again return to Mary. In the years 1574 to 1583 she wrote various letters to her ambassador, Glasgow, at Paris, and the Cardinal Guise, copies of which are preserved in the public library at Aix. I will here lay before the reader a few extracts*:—

MARY TO GLASGOW.

"May 8th, 1574.

"I do not write letters which others dictate†. They may indeed make the rough draught; but then I look them over, and correct them if they do not express my meaning. If you will conform in all this to my will, you will meet with profit, honour, and promotion, and be preferred before every other. Nothing now lies nearer to my heart than to know

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 128.

† *Je n'écris point de lettres que les autres* dictent; ils les peuvent bien disposer, mais je les vois pour les corriger, si elles ne sont suivant mon intention. Hence we may conclude that Nau and Curle did not, at a later period, write letters without her assent. Mary writes further on the 20th of February, 1575:—Je ne veux rien conclure sur mes états sans Nau. In March, 1575, Elizabeth ascertained that Nau, one of the Frenchmen recommended by the King of France, was Mary's secretary. Ellis's Letters, ii. 278.

those who will obey me, that I may make use of their service and recompense them. But if some wish to lead my affairs according to their own fancy, alter their tone, or strive more for their own weal than for mine, I will however see whether they dare despise my commands because I am absent or in prison. I am ready to take the opinion of every one, in order to arrive at the best conclusions, to which may God, according to his grace, grant me the useful talent to discriminate. But when I see that any band of persons is united in order to counteract my plans, I account all those who associate themselves with them as suspicious, and make use of the service of those who adopt another course. I recommend old Curle to you; he is an old and faithful servant, and his son true and active in my service. To the former I have ordered a sum of money, to spend in the way that he knows of."

Mary's cook having desired to quit her service, she says—"I am not out of danger if my meals are not closely watched. He is the only one who knows about them; and since I have no apothecary, he also prepares my medicines."

"July 9, 1574.

"I pray you send me some pigeons, red partridges, and Barbary fowls. I mean to try to rear them in this country, or keep them in cages; it is an amusement for a prisoner, and I do so with all the little birds I can obtain."

"July 18, 1574.

"Always bear in mind that my will in all things be strictly followed, and send me, if it be possible, some one with my accounts. He must bring me patterns of dresses and samples of cloths, gold and

silver stuffs and silks, the most costly and new now worn at court. Order for me at Poissy a couple of coifs with gold and silver crowns, such as they have made for me before. Remind Breton of his promise to send me from Italy the newest kind of head-dress, veils, and ribands wrought with gold and silver, and I will repay him."

"September 22, 1574.

"Deliver to my uncle, the cardinal, the two cushions of my work, which I send herewith. Should he be gone to Lyons, he will doubtless send me a couple of beautiful little dogs, and you likewise may procure a couple for me; for, except in reading and working, I take pleasure solely in all the little animals I can obtain. You must send them hither very comfortably put up in baskets."

"February 12, 1576.

"I send the King of France some poodle dogs (barbets), but can only answer for the beauty of the dogs, as I am not allowed either to hunt or to ride."

TO CARDINAL GUISE.

"January 31, 1579.

"I have offended the Queen of England neither in thought, nor word, nor deed. If, in spite of this, I am treated so rigorously, I throw the blame upon some of her ministers, who have always sought my destruction. It may be by exciting suspicion respecting me, or by other intrigues, the nothingness of which you can judge of better than I in my prison-house, and which deserve no credence whatever. As I know the uprightness of my conduct, so I hope that the evil which they are preparing for me will fall back upon their own heads. And I am just now on the point of asking the queen, my good sister, to explain to me all the existing dangerous

doubts; for, as touching my letters, I have written none but what Walsingham has seen. They contain nothing against the queen and her realm, nothing that I should hesitate to confess."

TO THE SAME.

"May 6, 1579.

"Your advice to seek the goodwill of the Queen of England, my good sister, in all things, is so agreeable to me, that (as your advice is to me a command) even if you had not made it known to me, I should have acted so of my own accord, as you will hear in detail from M. La Motté, who is better able to give an account of my transactions than any one else."

LETTER XXXIX.

Poem by Mary—Violent Letter to Elizabeth—The Negotiations with France.

THAT Mary had neither found the desired peace within, nor yet was content with her outward circumstances, is evident from some lines, without date, which are added to a volume of State Papers before the commencement of the correspondence of 1571*. It is as follows:—

Que suis je hélas et de quoi sert ma vie,
J'en suis fors qu'un corps privé de cœur,
Un ombre vain, un objet de malheur;
Que n'a plus rien que de mourir en vie.
Et vous amis qui m'avez tenu chère,
Souvenez vous que sans heur, sans santé,
Je ne sçaurais aucun bon œuvre faire,
Souhaitez donc fin de calamitéz,
Et que su bas étant assez punie,
J'aie ma part en la joie infinie.

* Queen Mary, vol. i. I should be inclined to think that the poem was of a later date.

On the 8th of November, 1582, Mary wrote, with less submission and humility, a long letter to Elizabeth, which gave rise to a new series of negotiations. The following is the substance*:—

"I wish that this letter may serve as a constant witness and memorial in your conscience as long as you may survive me; but justify me to posterity, and cover those with shame and confusion who, by your permission, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me, and have brought me to the extremity to which I am now reduced. As their plans, contrivances, measures, and actions, however despicable they might be, have always prevailed with you, in opposition to my just representations and upright conduct, and as the power which lies in your hands has always justified you before men, I will take refuge in the living God, our only judge, who has also and immediately placed us under him to govern his people. I shall call upon him in this my extreme affliction, to retribute to you and to me, as he will do at his last judgment, our merits and demerits towards each other. And remember, Madam, that we can disguise nothing from him by colour, or worldly policy, though my enemies may under you (*sous vous*), for a time, conceal from men, and perhaps from you yourself, all their malicious inventions, and atheistical dexterities.

"In his name therefore, and as if we were both standing in his presence, I will remind you firstly that, while I was in Scotland, the agents, spies, and secret messengers who were sent thither in your name, corrupted, incited, and stirred up my sub-

* Cod. Harl., 5397. Queen Mary, vol. iii.

jects to rebel against me, even to attack my person, and in a word to say, do, undertake, and execute that which, during my troubles, took place in that country."

Hereupon follow certain circumstantial complaints respecting imprisonment, accusations, separation from her son, the denial of a Catholic priest, the smallness of the number of her attendants, but not a word to disprove all that had been alleged against her, and caused her misfortunes.

She says in conclusion, "Give me satisfaction before I die, so that all differences between us being settled, my disembodied soul may not be compelled to utter its complaints before God, of the wrongs which you have sanctioned towards me here below, but on the contrary, quitting this captivity in peace and concord with you, it may rise to Him, whom I beseech to inspire you with proper sentiments on my just and too well-founded complaints and grievances. Your very afflicted, but nearest cousin and affectionate sister,—M. R."

This violent attack upon Elizabeth doubtless stood in connection with new plans and expectations which Mary entertained. Thus, in February, 1583, she wrote to the French ambassador, Fontenay*, that the Scotch Catholics be incited to an irruption into England. That she would flee and (as she daily became stronger and stouter) would be well able to bear riding, yet she feared a relapse of her late illness, and suffered much in her legs.

A report of the French ambassador, Mauvissiere,

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 133. According to Granvella's Memoirs, Part 33.

of the 17th January, 1583, to King Henry III. gives some particulars respecting this event.

"Queen Elizabeth told me King James of Scotland had dismissed, driven away, and banished nearly the whole of his nobility, in order to bring round him a set of people who would ruin him; that he now followed in all things the advice of his mother, of which she complained bitterly; she however added, that she would send plenipotentiaries honourably to conclude a negotiation for her release. To this she further added, that she was for the mother; that she would not trouble herself any further about the son, if he did not alter his conduct. Hereupon she remarked that the letter of your majesty and of Queen Catherine were full of the most friendly offers, but that notwithstanding towards the conclusion mention was made of Queen Mary. On this she gradually became excited, as if she would not even have her mentioned, and said, if the Queen of Scotland had had to do with any other, she would long since have ceased to live. In England she is in connection with rebels, has ambassadors in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, and in all parts of Christendom she forges evil designs against me, which (as has been confessed by messengers who were seized) tended to deprive me of my kingdom and my life. Your majesty, she hoped, would command me to interfere no further in the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, neither ought I to be so inquisitive as to trouble myself about all that passes in the country, or, as hitherto, to form close connections with her subjects. She would make complaints of me to your majesty, and if another ambassador were sent here, she would not give him

so much liberty as has in all things been accorded me. I replied that I had not acted as she and her ambassadors, who had entered into connections with the worst of your majesty's subjects, and on this point we disputed a long time. I also told her that the King of France was bound by the laws of God and man to take the part of his sister-in-law the Queen of Scotland. When Elizabeth saw that I spoke the truth with such strong and powerful argument, she begged me to drop the subject and to speak of something more agreeable."

I may be permitted here to say a few words respecting the relations of France and Scotland. The instructions to the ambassadors always tend to maintain and strengthen the friendship between the two countries, yet the ambassador was not to favour Mary's party in such a manner as to excite the jealousy of that of James. He was rather to plead with the latter for his mother, and to conduct himself with mildness towards the English ambassador. In the latter instructions of 1578 and 1583 it is said, the ambassador shall, by all means, strive for the reconciliation of all parties, call upon the king to act with lenity towards those who have offended him, and not scruple to tell the lords how reprehensible was their behaviour towards James, &c. On the other hand Henry III. advised Mary that she should agree with her son*, that she should try all means to win him, not contradict when he styled himself king, and so conduct matters that it might appear as if he had received the kingdom from her.

* Pinart, vol. 8810 to 1581.

LETTER XL.

Elizabeth's Answer.

The bold demand of Mary and the urgency of the French ambassador were not without effect. Instead, however, of entering into an immediate and discourteous correspondence with her, Elizabeth commanded Lords Shrewsbury and Beale to enter into a personal communication with her. I here give the substance of the very circumstantial and remarkable instructions which she gave them, dated the 6th of April, 1583*.

"Whereas we have been of late very earnestly solicited by the French ambassador to give our answer unto sundry letters, written not long since unto us by the Queen of Scotland, the one dated in November, the other in February, containing divers matters that do greatly touch us in honour, we have therefore found it very expedient that the same should receive answers, and that she should be roundly charged with her unjust and unthankful dealing towards us therein, &c. You shall proceed in the charging of her with the principal points of her said letters as followeth. And therein, first, you shall let her understand, that whereas she has by them charged both us and our ministers (though with more passion than truth) with divers injustices and wrongs done to her; our delay of answering hath not proceeded of lack of very sufficient matter of defence and justification, both of our doings and our ministers, both before God and the world; our whole course of

* Cod. Harl. 4663, p. 153.

proceeding towards her having been always grounded upon justice and conscience, but rather of a respect we had unto herself, though not deserved on her part, for that we could not well proceed to the justifying of our doings, without the renewing of the memory of such horrible acts of hers, as we wish, in respect of the nearness of blood between us, were rather buried in silence, than revived to her infamy; for that no dishonour can happen unto her, whereof we shall not receive part of the blemish.

"Now to come to the answer; where, in the beginning of the first letter, she declareth that her letter may serve, as long as we shall live, and after her, for a perpetual testimony and ingravure in our conscience, as well as for her discharge unto posterity, as to the shame and confusion of all those that under our advice have so cruelly and hardly handled her; you shall let her understand, that if she be as free from the guilt of these horrible acts, that in the open eye of the world she hath been publicly noted withal, as we with reason rest free from remorse of any extremity that we have ever offered unto her, she should then enjoy more peace and quietness of mind than presently she does. And as for the shame and confusion that shall thereby ensue unto such of our servants as she pretendeth under our avow have cruelly handled her; you may tell her that if she meant thereby such of our subjects as by her indirect practice have been unnaturally, and contrary to their duty, carried into practice and rebellion, she hath then no right. But as for those that have faithfully advised us to have regard to her ambition, whereof we have from the beginning seen but apparent dangers and effects, we hope that God, as his goodness hath hitherto conserved them,

will confound all those that wish their confusion. And seeing she so openly chargeth our conscience, we think ourselves bound in conscience to let her know, that if anything towards her may justly brood in us remorse of conscience, it is the care we have had for the safety of such a one, whose preservation hath sithence brought the ruin and utter overthrow of infinite numbers in both nations, &c.

"She further unjustly complains about certain events that have taken place in Scotland, and that her son has at length adopted better measures.

"The taking away the life of the Earl of Morton, a worthy and well-deserving servant, is a manner of proceeding altogether unfit for a young prince, &c. And how forsooth the prosecution of these violent counsellors of the death of Morton, under the pretence that he was privy to the death of her husband, might in the end reach unto herself (if principals are not to be spared where accessories are in question), her own judgment, or rather her own conscience, can best judge, and we fear she shall feel, unless she show some other remorse of conscience than hitherto she has done. And when she wishes, by way of invocation, that God should retribute unto us, at the time of his last judgment, according to our deserts and demerits one towards the other (putting us also in mind that all disguisements and counterfeit policies of the world shall not then prevail, though for a time her enemies under us may cover from men their malicious inventions and atheistic dexterities), you shall tell her, that if that severe censure should take place, it would go much more hardly with her, than we (whatever cause she has given us of the contrary)

can in Christian charity wish unto her. But however she is bold with man, who cannot judge but of things outwardly, she ought to beware how she dallies with God; and if she and her ministers are as free from disguising malicious inventions and atheistical dexterities as we and they are whom she terms enemies under us, she had then tasted as large a measure of God's goodness, common with all such princes, as depend upon his providence, and govern their people by justice, as she has now, and long since, felt of the sharpness of the effects of his judgments, for that the course of her proceedings before her fall was not kept within the limits neither of justice nor of religion.

"And therefore we pray God that she and her ministers may be found as free from atheism as we are persuaded they are whom she most unjustly seeketh to charge with so horrible a crime."

After several circumstances have been adduced to prove that Elizabeth had never done anything to cause the disturbances in Scotland during the time of Mary's government, it is added, "And to the end that she may be drawn to acknowledge that the true cause of all the trouble and affliction she hath sustained (whereof she would be glad to make us the chief authors) hath grown from her and the pernicious counsel given her by her kinsfolk of the meaner sort in France, you shall lay before her, first, how before in Scotland (a matter proceeding from her advice) there was a project laid to have deprived that kingdom of its ancient liberty, wherein the Bishop of Amiens and M. la Broche were used as instruments, being sent into Scotland soon after that

her majority was declared, and the same was afterwards prosecuted with foreign force and publicly known, &c.

"When Murray (moved of a dutiful love and affection that he bore towards her) did plainly lay before her the errors of her government, and with what dangerous issue the same would be accompanied, she grew to that mislike of him, that the Earls Huntley, Bothwell, and Sutherland conspired his death, and were likely to have executed the same, had it not been discovered by the Earl of Arran.

"David the Italian, a man of base quality, laid some plots for the alteration of the government, for the better execution whereof it was anew intended that the Earl of Murray should have been taken away, whereto David was a contriver, and her husband should have been an executor thereof.

"Lastly, had not the death of her husband followed, and the marriage with the murderer, the matters precedent might be healed, as contrived and invented by ill-affected subjects. But now this tragical end being duly considered, both the former points alleged do thereby receive confirmation, and the world may apparently see that the ground of these troubles proceeded altogether in this miscarriage of herself, and not by the practice of our ministers, as most notoriously and unjustly she doth allege.

"She complains that we did not keep the promises we had made. But she doth mistake the time; for the promises and messages she speaks of passed between us before the death of her husband, which with reason might work a great change in the professed good will between us. For that as in private

persons' friendship virtue is the knot, and that whosoever swerveth from the same cannot possibly challenge his friend that denieth a request, that had not honesty for ground: so in all promises, treaties, and assurances of good will between princes, it is always to be understood that the promises are subject (as the civil law terms it) to a civil intendment and interpretation."

After Mary's marriage with Norfolk and her connection with Northumberland and Westmoreland are discussed, it is added, "And herein most plainly and particularly she doth manifest her malice towards us by a letter of comfort, which she sent unto them in her own hand, which contained many poisoned terms and speeches, meant, as it is rightly gathered of us, whom she termeth tyrant, faithless, antichrist, usurper of titles, maintainers of all seditious and mischievous rebels of (against?) God and all Catholic princes. How far forth other princes might have been provoked by like violent and malicious speeches we leave unto others to weigh."

Upon this follows an account of what Elizabeth has done for Mary. Among other things it is stated, that while Mary was a prisoner at Lochleven "it was determined to have taken away her life. By Throckmorton's mediation in our name, being sent into that realm for that only purpose, the same was stayed, though not without great difficulty. Moreover, as certain of the nobility made their repair into this realm, furnished with such sufficient matter as might best serve to justify their proceedings against her, we ourselves were the only impediment and stay, that there was no further proceeding in the matter; for that we saw the proofs by the view of

her own letters, which we sought by all means to conceal, fall out so sufficient against her, as both Norfolk and Arundel did declare unto us; however, they were after drawn to cover her faults and to pronounce her innocence, as the said nobility of Scotland intended to urge us, that without our mislike, having so apparent matter to charge her withal, they might have proceeded against her.

"Even so we were the only stay of the proceeding against her, as parliament asked to proceed judicially about Norfolk's rebellion, &c.

"Now if these rare and extraordinary favours shown unto her, with her unthankful requitals, be duly balanced, we are persuaded that even those princes that have been principal mediators unto us for her liberty, and other favours to be extended towards her, would not in their own case have extended the like favours towards her. Nay, we suppose she would not have so long lived, either to have received favours, or to complain of hard usage, being right well assured that those that be best acquainted with histories both new and old shall hardly find many such examples, we may perhaps say none, all things duly considered. And therefore you shall conclude with her, that until such time that she hath by thankful carriage of herself given us better cause than hitherto she has done, we can with more reason deny those requests that she doth daily make unto us, than she rightly require the same at our hands."

LETTER XLI.

Further Negotiations with Mary—Her Guilt, Innocence, and Liberation.

HAD Mary anticipated such an answer, she would probably have written her letter to Elizabeth in another and more cautious style. To the unpleasant communication of the preceding letter was now added a demand that she should give an account of her late conduct to Elizabeth's commissioners. In the report to Elizabeth of the 16th of April, 1583, Shrewsbury and Beale say that Mary would not listen to any proposal, but absolutely demands her liberation, and an answer in writing from your Majesty: "she said if she would be charged in writing either with the murder of her husband, or any other, she would answer it in like manner. That the worst had been done that could be, as the printing of Buchanan's book (a lewd man and atheist) in London and in France. Nevertheless, she doubted not that her innocence was well known to all the princes of Christendom, in such sort as she was not ashamed to answer it. And so she trusted that many others that conceived hardly of her at the first, rested now therein satisfied, even as her husband's mother did before her death, whose letters and tokens she had (as she said) to show, and thereupon pointed to a small diamond upon her finger; as one declaring how she confessed that she was deceived, and took her to be innocent of her son's death." All other accusations—for instance, her participation in the rebellion of Northumberland—she flatly denied. When, however, it was pointed out to her that some letters, proving the contrary,

without any doubt came from her, she began to weep, and said, "that her steward Baton, who had the cyphers in his possession, was a violent man, and he had probably added something. Considering her sufferings and her excited state, words should not be so strictly scrutinized. She had remained quiet for years, and she had then plainly written to Queen Elizabeth that she would procure her liberty by all the means she could."

I may be permitted to add some observations on this report. First, Mary's demand that she might have a written accusation can have weight only with those who are satisfied with outward appearances. She was, nevertheless, right in supposing that there were in the world many persons of this kind, and regulated her conduct accordingly. But how could a reference to a mere form, in truth satisfy a woman who was so accused, a queen, who had so often declared that her honour was dearer to her than all besides, and that she would never suffer the slightest imputation to be cast upon it? Would she not with a genuine sense of honour, with the consciousness of innocence, have spontaneously and unasked seized every opportunity, and by every possible means have contradicted the frightful accusation, and have alleged the only satisfactory grounds for her enlargement? How vain this pretext, this evasion was, is above all evident from the fact that Mary had been accused verbally and in writing numberless times, and now publicly in printed pamphlets, before the Scotch Parliament, the Earl Murray, the English Privy Council and Parliament, Queen Elizabeth, &c. This accusation by no means rested on

the calumniatory testimony of an obscure writer, to refute whom it would not have been worth while, and incompatible with royal dignity; the most eminent men of England and Scotland, the kings, nay, all the people, of Europe were accusers, witnesses, jury, judges, and arbitrators. Yet the accused would not answer, but endeavoured to shelter herself behind evasions, which did but the more expose her weakness.

Secondly, when she asserted that all princes in Christendom were convinced of her innocence, she should not have withheld the best arguments for this pleasing conviction; she ought to have given force to this favourable supposition by incontestable proofs. Besides, Mary very well knew that her assertion in no way accorded with the truth; for before her flight from Scotland the Spaniards were convinced of her guilt, and the French for the same cause desired to confine her in a convent, and what Catherine de Medici expressed against her in her own name and that of her son has already been communicated above.

Thirdly, Mary, on the other hand, concluded rightly (as experience to the present day proves) that men gradually become more lenient in their judgment, and that the anger at first manifested at her actions would abate, even if no proofs whatever of her innocence were brought forward. It is probable that Lady Lennox may have changed her opinion in this manner, though Mary's bare assertion is no evidence of it. This, too, might have been connected with the dissensions and intrigues in Scotland, at least James (or rather those that speak in his

name) complain about this time of the family of Lennox.

Fourthly, Mary demands with justice that in her situation words should not be rigorously scrutinized; the flatteries of Elizabeth to her face, however, and bold accusations behind her back, did not agree together. But if we overlook this, Mary did not stop at words when she sent money to the rebels. The assertion (which on Babington's conspiracy was repeated) that the ministers of Mary wrote things which she had never written herself, is doubtless an aid to the credulous in many a difficulty; and he who considers the Scotch letters and sonnets as scandalously forged, though to every true critic the contrary is as clear as the day, will not be slow in believing that the whole of the correspondence attributed to Mary is spurious, in so far as it does not accord with his preconceived opinions.

On the 17th of April, the day after the report was drawn up, Beale wrote to Burghley*. She was prepared, on her liberation, to swear to all the conditions, and to disgrace herself in the eyes of the whole world if she broke them; "that she was now old, and that it was not for her now to seek for any ambition or great estate in the one realm or the other, as in her youth. She sought only to live the rest of the small time of her life in quietness in some honourable sort. She said she was diseased and subject to many sicknesses, although these many winters she never was so well as she was this. She had a great heart, which had preserved her; and desired to be now at rest by making some good accord be-

* Cod. Harl., 4663.

tween her Majesty, her son, and herself. She said the state of her health had been better since her Majesty sent the physicians down. She is able to go up and down better than ever I saw her; but yet complained of her legs and hips. She is waxen far grosser than ever I saw her; rather puffed up, in my opinion, than otherwise."

LETTER XLII.

Negotiations respecting Mary in England, Scotland, and France—The Behaviour of James.

To an intemperate letter of Mary's, Elizabeth had caused an energetic answer to be given, which however neither changed nor advanced the affair itself, for that Mary's expressions of her absolute inclination for a quiet life were not seriously and literally meant, was probably equally the opinion of her friends and her adversaries. On this account Elizabeth acted upon the wishes of Mary, and sent Robert Bowes to Scotland to consult with James on his mother's new proposals, if possible to effect an arrangement. The King, however, was not at all anxious for his mother's liberty, as clearly appears from the report of Robert Bowes to Walsingham of the 1st of May, 1583*; he said "That men finding themselves defeated, and desperate in their intended plots and purposes, used commonly to direct their course to such second ways as they think may most advance their desires, resorting ofttimes to the medi-

* Cod. Harl., 4643.

cines that they did most condemn; as he thought his mother had done, and that nothing had moved her more to the same than that she saw how matters were like to proceed between her Majesty and him. Whereon he thought this bone was cast to stick in their teeth, and thereon he prayed to see the articles."

When he came to examine more closely the arrangement which he was to form with Elizabeth, James agreed to many points, but declared to the fourth point, "that he wished that his mother would not only give over to deal or have any intelligence or trust with the persons or sects named therein, but also that she would in time turn truly to the true religion received and authorized in these realms." To the sixth point James observed, "that as his mother saw that he was on a good footing with Elizabeth, she was now stirred up to seek to be contained in the same (agreement), for her own benefit and for such purposes as seemed good to herself. But all things should be fully compounded between him and her, before he should be made a party joining with her. And by this means of joining with his mother, he doubted that some prejudice might come to him, as well at home as otherwise, finding she would not only be equal to him in authority, but also have the chief place before him, a matter dangerous to his state and title of his crown.

"Besides, he noted that sundry obstacles peradventure might be found in the person of his mother, that might annoy him no less than herself, in case he should be party with her. For, he said, his mother was known to embrace papistry and to have a council restant and continuing in France, by whom she was and is directed, and so nourished with pa-

pistry, and so entangled with the pope and the pope's confidants, as she could not deliver herself from just suspicion; neither could she with honour abandon her friends in France, nor refuse their advice. And as in the person of Queen Mary, he said, it was found and seen that her own mild nature could not suppress the great cruelty of her counsellors, but that their counsel and desire tended to persecute and torment God's people, to overthrow the whole estate and government established by King Edward VI., and to cast down the principal and best members in England with general subversion of religion and policy in all things."

Thus the first great obstacles to the liberation of Mary originated with her own son, and how little it was desired or even thought of by Henry III. is evident from a letter of his, of the 17th May, 1583, to his ambassador, Mauvissiere*:—"You shall apply for the liberation of Mary Stuart; therewith, however, proceed with great caution, and do nothing which could give either the Queen of England or her counsellors occasion to entertain the slightest suspicion of me. This procedure will suffice, and you may always interest yourself for my good sister the Queen of Scotland, though I do not believe that so long as Elizabeth lives she will ever be set at liberty."

In the mean time Elizabeth, on the 24th May†, furnished the Earl of Shrewsbury and Mildmay with new instructions, and from a report of theirs it appears that the negotiations with Mary were proceeding. On the 17th of July, however, she already

* Raumer's Letters, ii., 135. † Cod. Harl., 4663.

complains of delays, and that Elizabeth seems to pay regard to the views and sentiments of the Scotch. Mary, notwithstanding, hoped that some members of the English privy council would declare in her favour, and on the 15th of June wrote to Mauvissiere on the subject—"If I could only once feel assured that Walsingham would take the right road (*marchast de bon pied*) I would gladly be friends with him, without detriment to the duties he owes Elizabeth. He is an open plain-spoken man (*homme rond et plain*), who would easily accommodate himself to my nature, if he became acquainted with it by other means than from hearsay and from my enemies." In the same letter Mary acknowledges having secret communications with Scotland.

Two days later, Mildmay writes to Burghley*, that Mary was greatly troubled at the obstacles which the contract met with, and on the 2nd of July Elizabeth imparts to the Earl of Shrewsbury † the wishes of the Scotch (that no negotiation should be undertaken or concluded without them) and the substance of James's opinions; that she however is nowise inclined to break off these negotiations, but that he shall proceed so far forth as concerns herself.

While Elizabeth on her side manifested the utmost readiness to put an end to all the perplexing difficulties concerning Mary, a fresh report from Bowes arrived from Scotland ‡. Mary (he says) on the one hand affirmed that "her son, with his hand-writing, had acknowledged her resignation of the crown

* Cod. Harl., 6993, No. 25. † Cod. 4663.
‡ Of the 29th of June to Walsingham. Ibid.

to be null, and to be contented to hold his right by her and no otherwise." James, on the other hand, denied that his mother had herein spoken the truth. "He declared himself ready and desirous to pleasure his mother agreeable to the duty of a loving son, in which respect he can well like to advance her liberty. But in case she should continue to charge him with (putting) his hand to any instrument, binding him thereby to this association, then he would seek to acquit himself and his honour, as shall appertain, pretending to have sufficient matter for the same; that the plan of such an association had contained injudicious things, contrary to his opinion, and that it had never been carried into effect.

"If Mary's adherents should receive any comfort or encouragement by the sight of her majesty's favour to be showed either to the queen or them, or for her liberty, they shall doubtless win such courage and party thereby as should hazard the suppression of the well-affected, and bring all things here to their government. The good manner of her keeping in safety hath been some bridle and stay to her favourites; her liberty granted would stir her friends to hasten any enterprise—feed many with hopes of their prosperity, with possibility of such power as might promote her friends, and work revenge upon her enemies, and such as have offended her without reconciliation, wherein her friends would gladly treat for their prey, and the others gladly fawn upon her, to avoid the revenge, and thereby many may be drawn from good action that should be less destitute of supporters.

"Many having experience of her natural (as they term it), say that she has a deeper meaning to

obtain desires than sound care to perform accords, wherein they think no condition or limitation can be a sufficient obligation against the testimonies of her former life, behaviour, and actions hitherto passed, and thereupon they conclude that her liberty would, in the condition of this time, both increase and encourage her party here, and also give the greater power to herself, and thereby to put in practice her devices."

At this moment, when the opposition to Mary's liberation increased, and she herself asserted that she had renounced all worldly and ambitious plans, and wished only to live in quietness—at this moment she most unseasonably and unadvisedly issued a formal declaration to Elizabeth and the parliament, on her rights to the English throne*. Among other things it is stated that "it is a thing manifest and known to the principal counsellors of state and to the experimented in the affairs of the realm, that the original of the same statute or testament could never be exhibited or brought to light, namely, signed with the hand of King Henry VIII., to make the same valuable" (*i. e.* valid or available).

But the will was then in existence, and the original is still preserved in the archives of Westminster, and from its appearance there is every reason to believe that it is signed by Henry VIII. However that may be, Mary, in her writing, declared the judges and counsel of England impostors, and Elizabeth an unlawful queen.

* Cod., 4603, vol. i. July 23, 1583.

Much as Mary's behaviour must have personally wounded Elizabeth, yet, in the consciousness of the security of her position, she laid the less stress upon it. She was much more displeased at the dubious, unmanly conduct of James, upon whom Mary had wrought so effectually, that Shrewsbury was obliged to confess to her* that the negotiations must be broken off, inasmuch as she was exciting her son to inimical measures against England. Mary denied her influence upon James. Elizabeth, however, on the 7th of August, 1583, wrote him an admonitory letter, of the following import†:—

"Among your many studies, my dear brother and cousin, I would Isocrates'‡ noble lesson were not forgotten, that wills the emperor his sovereign to make his words of more account than other men their oaths, as meetest ensigns to show the truest badge of a prince's arms. It moveth me much to move you, when I behold how divers sundry wicked paths, and, like all evil illusions, wrapt under the cloak of your best safety, endanger your safety and best good. How can you suppose one honourable answer can be made me, when all your doings gainsay your former vows? You deal not with one whose experience can take dross for good payment; or one that easily will be beguiled; no! no! I mind to set to school your craftiest counsellors. I am sorry to see yourself bent to wrong yourself in thinking to wrong others, even those who, if they had not taken opportunity to let (hinder) a ruin that was newly

* Shrewsbury's Report of the 15th of August. Burghley's Papers in Bibl. Lansdown, vol. xxxvii., No. 53.

† Cod. Harl., 4666-4669, in one vol.

‡ So in original.

begun, that plot would have periled you more than a thousand of such men's lives be worth, that persuade you to avouch such deeds to deserve a foolish pardon.

"I mean to deal like an affectionate sister towards you, as one of whom you may receive honour and contentment, and more surety with regard to your safety than all your dissembling counsellors will or can bring you, as knoweth the Lord, to whose most safe keeping I do commend you, with my many commendations to your person."

LETTER XLIII.

Correspondence between Mary and Mauvissiere—Parry's Conspiracy.

THE correspondence with the French Ambassador, Mauvissiere, throws new light upon the negotiations and mutual accusations which are communicated in the preceding letters, and I therefore extract from it the most important particulars, in chronological order:—

MAUVISSIERE TO MARY*.

"The Earl and Countess of Arran induce King James to amuse you with fair words, but not enter into the union. They represent to him that if you were at liberty, you would deprive him of the government, and set all Scotland in a flame; that in order to satisfy your revenge, you would, by all possible means, ruin all his counsellors, who have taken

* This letter is without a date—the ambassador not mentioned; yet it belongs to this period, or rather to the time when James was urged to join the association for his mother. Queen Mary, vol. vii., p. 207.

his part from his cradle, and been obliged to oppose you, and cause them to be executed."

MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

"Nov. 1583*.

"Walsingham is very much dissatisfied with the King of Scotland, and turned to his counsellors. He has assured me that intrigues of his mother were concerned, who, though a great invalid, was yet well enough to see the total ruin of her son, if he does not take some other course. In fact, James must effect a speedy reconciliation with his subjects, and remove all distrust from their minds; otherwise, considering the temper of the people, who are besides excited by English parties, he would incur the greatest danger, like his predecessors, who were almost all killed, or came to a tragical end. Even the Earl of Lennox has discovered it, and Mary will have to suffer for it. I do not at all doubt but that I can keep this Queen Elizabeth and all England in such fear, that even if they do not render your majesty much service, they will not venture to make any hostile attempt; for I know the means, and can find employment for her in her own country, and by means of her own subjects, if your majesty will give me command. You know very well that I am acquainted with her state and the temper of all parties, and have spared nothing to gain them, (*pour les entretenir*)."

MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

"Dec. 19, 1583†.

"Queen Elizabeth has informed me that several conspiracies among the Jesuits have, by the grace

* Raumer's Letters, ii., 136-142. † Bibl. Harl., fol. 329.

of God, been discovered. When she latterly showed herself in public, crowds of people fell on their knees by the way, prayed in various manners, and wished her a thousand blessings, and that all her wicked enemies may be discovered and punished; she stopped frequently, and thanked them for all their affection. As I was alone with her (she rode a fine horse) amidst this crowd, she said, 'I see, however, that not all desire me evil.'

"She said that she would willingly show some favour to Mary, and would behave to James in the same manner as he did towards her. She much wishes that he may marry a protestant, perhaps the daughter of the King of Sweden. I have written to the Queen of Scotland, in order to learn from her what orders your majesty has given respecting the aid which she and her son may ask from you, as well in respect to troops, as other requisites for the war*."

MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

"1st January, 1584†.

"Earl Leicester promises me everything, and offers to do all in his power, as though we had long been great friends. He has especially invited me to dine with him and his wife, who has much influence over him, and whom he introduces only to those to whom he wishes to show a particular mark of attention. He made great offers and promises for the service of your majesty so soon as an opportunity should present itself. Upon the whole, he spoke very freely with me on all subjects, and complained

* Tant pour gens de guerre, *que pour autres munitions.* The last words are erased in the MS.

† Bibl. Harleiana, fol. 334-338.

that the French had done him ill-service with Elizabeth, and caused her displeasure. The Bishop of St. Andrew's found the Queen of England much irritated, and full of threats and studied speeches, the tendency of which was to excite reciprocal distrust between the King of Scotland and his mother. She is much dissatisfied at the concord between them; Mary, too, now favours her son, and it is hoped that he will embrace the Catholic religion."

MAUVISSIERE TO QUEEN MARY.
(Without date *.)

"I dined to-day with the Earl of Leicester and his lady, to whom he is much attached. They both received me very kindly, made many offers of friendship, and expressed a wish that the countess and my wife might be on intimate terms. After dinner the earl walked out with me, and vowed that he had never been your majesty's enemy, but had now lost his influence with Elizabeth, the King of France, and your majesty. As to the Earl of Huntingdon, he would be the first to combat him, and in the event of the death of his queen, he, with all his relations and friends, would willingly render some important service; he told me that I might acquaint your majesty with this, but was on no account to let any one else hear of it, as it would ruin the whole affair. The Queen of England is indeed inclined to give you an answer and to conclude a treaty; yet on the other hand, she is suspicious of the good understanding between you and your son. Mr. Walsingham, too, has been uneasy on this account †, and in consequence conceals the

* Bibl. Harleiana, fol. 387. † En a pensé être en peine.

inclination he bears towards you. With regard to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his lady, Leicester told me that both of them write the most scandalous stories of each other, by which your majesty is brought into trouble. Earl Leicester much wishes that a reconciliation might be brought about*. In a word, the earl has never promised me more for your majesty's service, and the means to keep him in this good humour is to gain his wife, and to assure her that you will be her friend. Let me know whether I shall continue to negotiate in this manner; for if Leicester does not dissemble greatly, he wishes to serve your majesty, only not a soul, not even Walsingham, shall know it."

MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

"24th January, 1584†.

"Several discoveries and testimonies have inspired Queen Elizabeth with such distrust of Philip II., that England may now perhaps be gained by France. Spain (which has always endeavoured to profit by the misfortunes of others) ought now to join with France, in order to punish England and exterminate heresy. Elizabeth has had an intimation given to Mendoza to quit England in fourteen days. He replied, 'I will depart in eight days, as I shall rejoice to leave a country where I have not been able to be a good minister of peace. But they must not be astonished if I should one day be a good minister of war.'"

* This is probably the sense; but the words are, Leicester m'a dit qu'il desirait grandement que vostre commodité (sic) et ne bousjer davec le dite conte ils se peussent racommoder ensemble.

† Bibl. Harl., vol. 1582, fol. 339-346.

MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.,

"14th February, 1584.

"Two days after the departure of Mendoza, information arrived from Ireland that three Spanish ships, with troops, money, and military stores, attempted to land and join Earl Desmond*. They were told that he had been killed, and his head sent to Elizabeth. They inquired further, whether there were none of his friends, or priests, or Jesuits at hand, who could fix themselves somewhere till a stronger force arrived from Spain and from the pope? Being answered that since the earl's death all his party had been dispersed, taken, or killed by the English, the Spaniards sailed away."

In the mean time Parry's conspiracy against Elizabeth had been discovered, and in the examination of 1586, Burghley reproached Mary that during the negotiations for peace, when she pretended to be so sincere and innocent, her commissioner, Morgan, had engaged Parry to murder Elizabeth†. Mary owned that she had afterwards given Morgan a pension, without acknowledging her participation in his guilt.

The following particulars are taken from a confession of Parry to Elizabeth, dated the 14th of February‡:—"The Queen of Scotland is your prisoner; let her be honourably entreated, but yet surely guarded. She may do you good; she will do you no harm, if the fault be not English. Satisfy her reasonably in her keeper; it may else prove dan-

* Bibl. Harl., vol. 1582, fol. 349. Heralis, v. 365.

† Morgan hired Parry to kill the queen. Cod., 4663, vol. ii.

‡ Bibl. Lansdown. Burghley's Papers, vol. xliii., No. 47.

gerous. It was well once—it cannot be bettered now; a new government and a new guard may breed new doubts. Emulation may do harm. Please yourself in this case; it importeth you much. So long as it is well with her, it is safe to you. When she is in fear, you are not without peril. Cherish and link her; she is of your blood, and your undoubted heir in succession. This is so taken abroad, and will be found so at home."

The last point was, and continued to be, the principal stumbling-block. This never renounced claim to sovereignty (which implied the destruction of everything which by far the greater portion of the English most highly cherished and honoured) would not allow Mary to be considered as an innocent prisoner, or even as one who was guilty and had been sufficiently punished, but as a formidable enemy, who, after Elizabeth's death, might perhaps be invincible.

LETTER XLIV.

Correspondence of Mary with Mauvissiere—Mary to Burghley.

I SHALL continue with my extracts. On the 25th of February, Mary wrote to Mauvissiere * :—

"I have been the less able to answer your letters in the usual manner †, as I am informed that your house is surrounded day and night with spies, to examine every one that goes in or comes out, and as all my messengers (intelligences) who were with you

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 142-149. † Bibl. Harl., No. 1582.

have been discovered. Many suspect that some of your servants are bribed, and I cannot divest myself of the idea; therefore I earnestly entreat you to suffer none but the most undoubtedly trustworthy servants to communicate with those whom I may send to you, and not to permit them to meet in your house, but in or out of the city as if by chance (par forme de rencontre). You will easily be able to settle about time and place, and keep the matter secret from every other person, or else I shall not find any one who will venture to enter into our plans.

"I have twice informed you circumstantially of the scandalous reports which have been spread of my intercourse (conversation) with the Earl of Shrewsbury, which have originated with none but his good lady herself. If the Queen of England does not give me an explanation of this imposture *, I shall be compelled openly to attack the Countess; I have also been restrained by two considerations from making use of the advantages I have against her, and which are at my command as soon as I make known to the Queen of England and her counsellors how she has behaved to me, and in respect to me, to the Earl of Leicester, and other noblemen in this kingdom. The first is: that I will preserve my reputation for probity and firmness in the opinion of all my friends †, and will show that I do not readily enter into controversy with them, and even when they are in the wrong do not act against them, but at the last extremity. Secondly, if I accuse that unhappy woman for various arrogant speeches and intrigues against the Queen, myself, and some of the

* Ne m'eclaircit de cette imposture.

† Some words are wanting in the MS., but the sense is evident.

nobility of the realm, I am fearful of doing wrong to her husband; and besides this, it might appear strange through what means I have become acquainted with so many particulars. At all events, I am fearful that those who disclosed them to me, if not called to account, may however become suspected. But whatever may be the consequence, there is nothing that I would not venture for my honour, which, even if I were not placed in so elevated a station in the world, would yet be dearer to me than a thousand lives.

"I therefore entreat you most earnestly diligently to pursue the course that has been adopted to destroy this infamous calumny till I obtain adequate satisfaction, either by public notice in the whole kingdom, on which you are particularly to insist, or by the exemplary punishment of the authors. Should you be called upon to say who these are, you may answer, Charles and William Cavendish, incited thereto by the Countess of Shrewsbury, or you may at least require that they shall be examined on this subject. I know that one of the council, in the presence of four or five distinguished persons, suffered the observation to escape him that they believed the report to be false, but the propagation of it was serviceable to prevent my marriage with the King of Spain, which, God knows, neither I, nor probably he, ever thought of.

"All this confusion comes from Leicester and Walsingham, who (as I have been informed for certain) sent the Countess of Shrewsbury a copy of my last letters to you. Under the pretext as if you had learnt these matters elsewhere, it may not be improper to complain to the Queen that the Countess

shows herself my enemy in such a false and scandalous matter, and is secretly advised, led, supported, and instructed by men who (were it only for the honour of the Queen, my near relation) ought rather to aid me, no less than Elizabeth herself. For I, who am under restraint both in speaking and acting, cannot manage my affairs myself as if I were at liberty.

"You may observe to the Earl of Leicester, as if the thought originated with yourself, and it was your advice, that if he does not take care, all this confusion will be ascribed to him; for all those who interfere in it are his servants and dependants, among whom you may fairly say that you have heard that one named Laisseles, and another named Topliffe, have entered into a very intimate understanding with the Countess and her children. If he would have me conceive a good opinion of him, and of the renewal of his promises which you mention in your last letter, he must confirm it by facts, and remove every appearance of the contrary, which arises from the conduct of his servants and dependants. Nay, if it were possible, I should not take it amiss if you told him plainly that he seemed to have a very great desire to declare and conduct himself as the chief of my enemies, and such he was taken to be, not only by my son, my relations, and friends in Christendom, but chiefly by my adherents in this kingdom, from whose minds I have endeavoured to remove, as much as possible, this bad opinion and suspicion.

"The Earl of Shrewsbury, as I understand, is more than ever resolved upon a visit to court, in order to obtain information respecting all the accusations of his enemies, and I doubt not but he will

prove his innocence to their confusion and his own honour. Should, however, anything be said of removing me from this place, you are decidedly to oppose it, partly for the safety of my life, which the king my good brother cannot hold to be secure in any other hands, partly because, after the scandalous report which has been spread respecting me and the earl, a removal from him would tend to my dishonour.

"You may safely intrust your letter to the bearer of this. Write to me as often as possible how all things go on. With respect to M. de la Tour, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Henry Howard, I hope that God will preserve them by demonstrating their innocence. If you can come directly or indirectly at Throckmorton and Howard (for with the third I have had no kind of connection), assure them in my name that their affection and the great suffering which they endure on my account will never be effaced from my heart; that I take no less interest in them than any one of their relations, and pray to God to enable me worthily, one day, to reward them." —*Sheffield, 26th of February*, 1584.

"I earnestly beseech you to keep all this a profound secret, in order that the ambassador may not perceive anything of it, for I would not for all the treasures of the world that it should be discovered, on account of the disgrace which it would bring upon me. Yea, and not merely the disgrace, but my life depends upon it, which, however, I do not care for so much as the disgrace, since I must die at all events."

MAUVISSIERE TO MARY.

1584 (without date*).

"The Queen of England (as I understand) has been informed that Lord Talbot (Shrewsbury), the Earl of Rutland, and all the nobility in the country where your Majesty resides, have become reconciled, and have promised henceforth to maintain constant friendship. She seems to think that this is for your sake, and has consequently become so suspicious and angry, that if possible she would ruin them all on that account, &c.

"It is further affirmed, that Elizabeth is at all events resolved to take you out of the hands of your present host, and, under the pretence of recommencing negotiations, to send Mildmay and the Chevalier Revel to you, to take you to Hertford, twenty miles from hence. She wishes to draw the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury to court, in order (it is said) to appoint them (appointer?) and reconcile them; and to give you in Hertford new hosts, servants, and guards, and remove you from those who in the environs of Sheffield and in the north appeared to be too much your friends. I will endeavour to learn more upon the subject, and will represent to-morrow to the Queen of England that there is neither reason nor occasion to place you under the care of another person. If possible, I will avert this blow. Write, however, to the queen and her council.

"It is said that Mildmay and Revel will refuse this commission; all these people, however, are so deceitful, and so little to be depended upon, that there is no relying upon what they say, &c.

* Bibl. Harl., 1582, fol. 389.

"The King of Spain has written a private letter to Don Bernardin de Mendoza, approving all that he has done here. He has, likewise, not received W——, who was sent to him from this place, but said he had nothing to do with that heretic.

"Take heed, Madam, on your part, that you do not fall into the hands of your enemies, and I, on my side, will do what I can. Write to the Lord Treasurer, and send the letter to me; he is, after all, the best, and will hear reason *."

New complaints probably arose about this time of the intrigues of Mary's partisans in Scotland, and Elizabeth directed her ambassador Beale † to give the queen to understand: "That if she refuses to perform these offers, then for the future, we shall never listen to any further treaty for her liberty, and we shall take such a course for our safety as shall be disagreeable both to her and to her son. For we are not ignorant of her practices with the house of Guise, tending to disturb the peace of our realm, with which she has lately been acquainted, and, as we are informed, has given her assent."

The French ambassador certainly made the greatest efforts at that time entirely to detach James from England ‡.

On the 2nd of March, 1584, Mary wrote to Burghley §:—"I shall send an ambassador to Scotland, to come to a final decision with my son. The treaty is the only thing in this world which can ease my body and mind; for I feel both so depressed by

* Il est à la fin le meilleur et se laisse montrer.

† Cod. Harl., 4651, p. 25. ‡ Ibid., pp. 215-222.

§ Ibid., p. 138. It is possible that this letter may belong to 1585.

my seventeen years' captivity, that I can bear it no longer. I therefore again earnestly entreat that an end may be put to it, without making me die a lingering death. I am greatly obliged to the queen, my good sister, for the care she is pleased to take for my honourable treatment. But nothing is done so long as I am without the sixteen (six?) horses which I have asked for, for without them I am shut up, and cannot enjoy the fresh air, to recover and preserve my health, as those who have hitherto guarded me can sufficiently attest.

"I must trouble you with another matter, namely, that my servants may be permitted to purchase grocery and other articles for me in the neighbouring towns, under a sufficient guard, because I cannot always have at hand such like trifles as I want them."

LETTER XLV.

Correspondence of Mary with Mauvissiere.

The only particulars respecting the period from March to September are contained in the correspondence of Mary with Mauvissiere*

MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

"March 21st, 1584†.

"As I shall write to you more circumstantially to-morrow, by the usual channel, respecting what the Earl of Shrewsbury has signified to me in the name of the Queen of England, his mistress, it will suffice

* Raumer's Letters, ii. 140.

† Bibl. Harl., 1582, fol. 313; Keralio, v., 374.

to send you to-day a copy of my answer to the earl. You must now do your utmost to get leave to go to Scotland, and to take with you a plenipotentiary from the Queen of England, and one from me. I have been unwilling to write too urgently myself upon the subject, not to excite suspicion and give ground for a refusal; but if any one is to intervene in the name of my good brother the King of France, in any treaty between the Queen of England and me, I desire that it may be you, as you are so much better acquainted than any other with all the circumstances between us.

"I assure you, on my word and honour, that if the Queen of England would act sincerely towards me and my son, and give us the necessary securities for our preservation, I would be the first to oppose, as one might say, my own son, if he should unjustly, and contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, undertake anything against her; so far am I from intending, after the conclusion of a good and safe treaty, not to restrain my ministers from all enterprises which might tend to the prejudice of Elizabeth and her state; but, as I lately wrote to you, I fear that the partisans of my good neighbour the Earl of Huntingdon will never permit any kind of friendship between us, as they would then have less strength and power to ruin us, which I believe to be their real design.

"But quitting this often-discussed subject, I beg you more clearly to prove to the queen the falseness of my honourable hostess. I wish you could say to her privately (if possible obtaining her promise neither to communicate it to any one, nor to make any further inquiry), that nothing has so alienated

the countess from me, as the vain hope which she has conceived of placing the crown of England upon the head of her little daughter Arabella; and this by marrying her to a son of the Earl of Leicester. The children are also educated in this persuasion, and their portraits have been sent to each other. But for the notion of raising one of her family to the rank of queen, she would never have so turned away from me; for she was so entirely and cordially attached to me, without regard to any other duty or respect, that if God himself had been her queen, she could never have done more than for me. Pretend, for instance, that you heard from Miss Seton (who went to France last summer), and tell the Queen of England, that I have had a solemn promise from the Countess of Shrewsbury, that whenever my life shall be in danger, or it should be proposed to move me to another place, she would provide me with means to escape, and being a woman, would easily avoid all punishment and danger: that for this purpose her son, Charles Cavendish, (as she told me in his presence,) resided in London, and would acquaint me with everything that passes at court: that he had two good strong horses constantly ready to inform me as quickly as possible of the death of the Queen of England, who was at that time ill: that he could do this, as well as Walsingham had invited the Earl of Huntingdon to hasten to London, with which proposal he had immediately complied. The countess, with her son, then took all possible pains to convince me that I was in the greatest danger in the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who would deliver me to my enemies, or suffer me to be surprised by them, so that

I should be in a very bad condition without the friendship of the countess.

"I will for this time send you only these two little specimens, that the Queen of England may be able to judge of the whole, and see what has been begun and carried on in these past years between me and the countess. I could also, if I pleased, bring her into great trouble, as her people have, by her express orders, brought me ciphers, and she has also delivered me some with her own hands. It will be sufficient if you tell the Queen of England that you heard all these particulars from Miss Seton, and were convinced that if she would cause me to be questioned in a proper manner and without noise (par bonne voie et doucement) respecting the conduct of the countess, I could disclose to her things of much greater importance, and in which several of those about her would be found to be deeply implicated. Above all, however, prevail upon her, if possible, to keep all this secret and never to mention your name. Tell her that you have been induced to make this communication from the interest which you take in the prosperity of her affairs, and that you (that she may learn what confidence she may place in the countess) are firmly persuaded that I could gain her with a present of 2000 crowns whenever I pleased.

"You have done me a great favour in sending copies of my letters to France and Scotland, in order that the truth of these misunderstandings may be known, which I am persuaded originate with the countess and her son Charles. But as the witnesses by whom I could prove this, fear to incur the displeasure of the queen, I am obliged to wait till I

can find some others, to come to a public explanation, and reparation. I recommend to you, as far as possible, the unhappy De la Tour, and all belonging to him. I daily lament their misfortune, and would willingly sacrifice a part of my blood to deliver them. Also, if you can find means, I wish you to transmit 10*l.* or 12*l.* sterling to Edward Moore, in the Tower, for he is said to be in great distress.

"I thank you for the information you gave me respecting my son, for whose preservation I know no better means of providing than the support of the king, my good brother, and of my relations and servants in France, to whose judgment I entirely leave it to do what is necessary: 15,000 or 20,000 crowns now distributed among the principal men in Scotland would wonderfully confirm them in their duties; but hitherto I have not received a penny from the king, nor have even been able to obtain permission to sell part of my estates. On the contrary, by the late charges and unjust proceedings, I have lost almost three-quarters of my marriage portion; but I trust that God will not leave me in this distress.—*Sheffield.*"

MAUVISSIERE TO MARY.

"1584, without date.*

"Douglas seeks the favour of Walsingham, and the latter endeavours to be your friend and sure of your favour, if you will forget what has passed and promise not to overthrow the Protestant religion in this realm. Douglas offers you his life and constant services, and that if you will commission him by ciphers or secret letters he will soon bring to your

* Bibl. Harl., 1582, fol. 370.

side the Earls of Mar, Angus, Reven (Leven?), and all the accomplices banished from Scotland. He will never do anything but what you please, and not return to Scotland, or require the good will of your son by any mediation but yours, and will abandon the Queen of England.

"Leicester has told Elizabeth that I went about and endeavoured to gain her counsellors and every one in the kingdom for you; but that he considered nothing except the intentions and service of his queen. By this and all other means at his command he has sought to regain her good will, and is now in higher favour than he was four years ago. In a word, he cannot be much depended upon, but we must treat him as they do your majesty, and endeavour to get as much advantage by him as possible. The Lord High Treasurer is nearly always ill, and always assents to the decisions of his mistress, who never in her life was more suspicious, and is afraid, now of the King of France, then of the King of Spain, and sometimes of both together.

"M. Bodin, who is a learned man, an astrologer and mathematician, has often told me, and wrote to me only two days ago, to your great comfort, that you would soon see the end of your troubles. As to Mr. Nau, I will do my utmost for him here, as I entreat your favour for him, all the captive company, &c."

MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

"April 30, 1584*.

"Commission Archibald Douglas to go to Scotland to endeavour to make the rebellious lords and

* Fol. 321, Keralio, vie d'Elizabeth, v. 380.

gentlemen lay down their arms, and also to prevail on Queen Elizabeth to give me permission to send a plenipotentiary to my son, who, together with one from herself, and if possible with you, in order, under the authority of the king, my good brother, of her and myself, to bring the affairs of Scotland to a peaceable termination. In case of such an event I should recommend Douglas, and do what I could for him.

"But, at all events, conceal from him, as well as all others, that you have the slightest understanding with me; for I understand that the negotiations which Walsingham maintains with you tend only to ascertain from your answers whether there is yet any secret way of communication with me left open to you. My host is more than ever in doubt whether he shall go to court, yet his inclination increases with his desire to vindicate himself against the calumnies of his enemies. What I the most dread from this journey is, that they will remove me hence during his absence, or induce him to assent to the plan. It is most important that you should guard against this, lest I should be delivered into a suspicious and hostile hand.

"The construction put upon the meeting between my host and the Earl of Rutland comes only from the good lady of Chatsworth, who was always an enemy of the Earl of Rutland, who is a nephew of my host's by his first wife; the relationship is so near that the visit was natural enough, wherefore it was not necessary to ascribe it to me. I understand that my Lord Talbot was there, though more in presence only than in heart; or if his heart went with him, yet even then only the half.

I am the less able to give you any information of the language of young Seton at Bordeaux relative to my marriage with Philip II., which has been reported to the Queen of England, as I did not know that Seton was going to Spain, much less why, &c.

"I leave it to your prudence safely to forward my secret letters, and promise to reimburse you for all the expenses you may have, which you may enter in the account you send to me, as gold and silver wire for embroidery.—*Sheffield.*"

MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

"1584, without date*.

"Though, in consequence of the uncertainty in which I am respecting the treaty to be concluded with the Queen of England, I am not able to tell you anything positive; you will, however, perceive by the enclosed what has passed between me and the English deputies. As they have, however, much urged me to speak to nobody upon the subject, not even to the King of France, you must keep it as secret as possible, till the affair comes to a conclusion or is broken off, that they may not be able to reproach me with having disclosed anything contrary to their wish and request. Nevertheless, you may communicate to my brother, for whom the enclosed letter and the ring are intended, respecting which, to my great regret, there has been a misunderstanding between you and him†.

"I have received certain information that Captain Stuart has received positive orders from the queen to persuade my son entirely to renounce any alliance with France, and to conclude an alliance with her,

* Bibl. Harl., fol. 320. † Il a été trouvé faute entre vous et lui.

under the pretext of maintaining their religion; but I have written very decidedly for the contrary, as well to my son, as to the principal persons about him, who are of the right party, so that I hope nothing will come of it, &c.

"Tell Archibald Douglas I know that the queen has no mind to send him to Scotland; therefore, in my opinion, he shall accept an appointment from her, as good as he can obtain; but above all, endeavour, by every possible demonstration, to convince Walsingham of his attachment to Elizabeth, in order to discover the intentions of the queen respecting me and my son."

MAUVISSIERE TO MARY.

"1584, without date*.

"I have shown to the Bishop of St. Andrew's several letters which manifest your majesty's affection for your son. He was much delighted with them, and requested my permission to send copies of them to him; he then said, this was very contrary to what the Queen of England had told him two days before, that your majesty had written to her, that James not only had no good natural disposition, but that he was so false (dissimulé) in all things, that he would deceive her whenever she had to do with him. Elizabeth evidently intended hereby to inform the bishop that you did not love your son, from which opinion, however, I endeavoured to divert him. On this occasion the bishop told me that Elizabeth had said to him, 'I wonder that since James has caused the Earl of Morton to be executed as guilty of the death of the king his father, and requires Archibald

* Bibl. Harl., fol. 398.

Douglas to be delivered up to treat him in the same manner, why he does not also demand his mother to be delivered up in order to punish her for the same crime.' To this were added many other words full of bitterness against your majesty. Elizabeth further told the bishop that you had offered in another letter to bring about a satisfactory arrangement between her and the king your son, and mediate as the mother of the one, and the friend of the other. To which the bishop told me he had replied, that it was a contradiction that she ought not to trust the king your son, and that your majesty would, notwithstanding, mediate to effect an arrangement. Elizabeth, however, replied, that these were your arts of dissimulation, and that she was very ready to show him your letters.

"In the end the bishop confessed to me that he found in the said queen nothing but aversion to you and your son, and the will to cherish a constant enmity between you, &c.

"Upon this she said, (for she spoke Latin with the bishop,) I am more afraid of making a fault in Latin than I am of the Kings of Spain, of France, of Scotland, or the Queen of Scotland, who are all French, Spaniards, or partisans of the Guises.

"I cannot obtain any answer from the queen or her council to all that you have written respecting your deliverance; nor have I thought it advisable to press her too much respecting the examinations which have been commenced against Catholics, on account of the recent conspiracies, for fear of receiving some unpleasant answer, for they suspect shadows and walls.

"Mr. Sommerfield and his partisans are con-

demned to death. I think it best to let this rage pass over a little, but I will do everything possible for your service. I must also not conceal from you that your enemies have everywhere spread a report that you have had a child, and that you have a good understanding with your host, are again pregnant, &c. This news has not been told me, because they know how I should answer such malicious lies. Write to me openly what I shall do in this business, or send a letter, in which these falsehoods are so treated, that I can show it to the Queen of England and her counsellors."

MAUVISSIERE TO MARY.

"1584, without date.

It appears from this letter that Mauvissiere had warned one of the conspirators against Elizabeth of the name of Latour, and the latter, though put to the torture, had at first denied his connection with Mary, but afterwards confessed it. It is further stated*,—"The Queen of England and some of her council were already convinced that Walsingham had entirely taken your part, and were jealous of it: to avert which suspicion, he pretended to be extremely incensed with you, and said he would never again meddle with your affairs, but at the express command of the queen, his mistress. Your letters came very apropos to cure him of the notion that you wished him ill, though he would not confess it, and made difficulties about receiving them from any hand but mine. He told me that, for his part, he did not want any apology; every excuse was unnecessary; your majesty had never entertained a favourable opinion of him, nor borne

* Bibl. Harl., fol. 377, 385.

good will towards him; but I see and know that if your majesty can amuse him (entretenir), he will perform a good service (bon coup) for your affairs when the time comes.'

Mauvissiere says, in conclusion, that Henry III. was ready to support James and Mary with a military force, that their affairs in Scotland might be settled to their satisfaction.

MAUVISSIERE TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

"May 4, 1584*.

Mauvissiere gives an account of the parties in Scotland, the errors of the king, and the unruly spirit of the people in Scotland, and adds, "I must tell you plainly, and you must not doubt it, that as long as England remains in the state in which it now is, and can give a crown, or find a partisan in Scotland, the king of that country, and the queen his mother, will be regarded as of no consequence; on the contrary, their lives and fortunes are in danger. Believe me, too, the Queen of England now fears nothing that may happen to her; that she will meet with energy every danger, every evil, &c.

"I have spent more than 15,600 crowns in the affairs of Scotland, and more than 100,000 in this kingdom, of which the king owes me about 40,000. The half of this was assigned to me more than three years ago, but I have not received a penny, and the king even writes to me to avoid all extraordinary expenses, and not even to dispatch a courier on the most important occasions. This is the way in which I am treated."

* Bibl. Harl., fol. 355.

MARY TO M. DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

"23rd May, 1584*.

"Believe me, M. Mauvissiere, my enemies endeavour in every possible manner to derive advantage from the divisions which they sow everywhere, in the same manner as I remember they formerly spread a report that the queen-mother (Catherine de Medicis) hated me extremely, on account of my bad conduct and disobedience to her while I was in France, and yet she lately gave very good testimony in my favour at audiences which Lord Glasgow and Lord Seton had with her. And I truly believe that none of her own daughters ever showed her more honour, deference and obedience in all things. Do me the favour to thank her on my part, for the assurances which she gave those ambassadors, of her entire attachment to me and my son, and that I will, as long as I live, do my utmost to deserve it. Entreat her most earnestly to take care of my poor child and of my wretched state.

"As to my liberty, I wish to enjoy it out of England, or, if I consented to remain here, that it should be more ample and favourable than was proposed last year, when, in order to deliver my son from the hands of the rebels, I was obliged to offer (*engager*) my person as security.

* * * * "With respect to your journey to Scotland, I have, according to your advice, appeared rather to doubt of it than to desire it, in order that they may more readily agree to it; but then I have urged that you might be permitted to visit me by the way, as this is one of the principal parts of your commission; and by this means could you not bring

* Bibl. Harl., fol. 315.

Archibald Douglas with you? You will make arrangements with him respecting all that he has written to me, and what you have written in his favour. Meantime do you and he be on your guard against Walsingham, for, notwithstanding all the fine speeches which he makes to you, I know that he will not spare me nor any of my friends if he can find anything against me (*s'il peut avoir barre sur moi*).

"On the condition that my son is safe, I will willingly suffer the worst that they can do to me here, both in changing my keeper and restricting my liberty. My resolution, therefore, is to labour by all means for the liberty and safety of myself and son, and to bring about a good understanding with the Queen of England. With a view to this object, we must direct all our plans and actions to the satisfaction of Elizabeth, in order that we may obtain, under her protection, the confirmation of our right of succession to the crown. However, till I see the treaty before me, I will not suffer myself to be deceived by idle hopes, or exalt those rebels over the head of my son, and throw him by their means at the feet of the queen. In a word, I will have something in my left hand before I throw away what I have in the right.

"And now, as the lord-treasurer has received from me an answer such as he desires (that is to say, resolute, sincere, and unequivocal), it is now his business, and that of the other counsellors, to show the sincerity of themselves and of their queen towards me, who remain in their hands as pledge and security for my offers and promises, for which I can receive no equivalent from them, and yet I want

something more than fair speeches. * * * Nau shall be ready to accompany you to Scotland."

A letter from Nau to Mauvissiere, of the same date, shows that he was very well informed of the affairs of his mistress, and at that moment attached to her.

MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

"May, 1584.

"Neale has been very maliciously crossed and misinterpreted by some of the royal council, and was no less angry on that account than I myself, for I never said things as they have been taken, and he has never so related and reported them. Walsingham, I suppose, like those of his religion, has mutilated and falsified the text."

MAUVISSIERE TO THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREW'S.

"17th July, 1584.

"I know no heart in the world which ought not to be moved to wish the queen well, for the virtue, prudence, and patience with which she daily submits to the dispensations of God, without taking any interest in worldly matters, except for the king her son, whose greatness and happiness are her only object, &c. * * * * The unfortunate princess endeavours to gain all her relations, friends, and allies in his favour, and to move Elizabeth, by innumerable letters, to be a friend and a mother to him."

Mauvissiere, however, is afraid that James should separate himself from France and his mother, which in fact happened, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Henry III. to prevent it*.

* In October, 1584, Mr. Esneval went to Scotland, though in vain, for this purpose. Pinart, vol. 8803.

LETTER XLVI.

Burghley respecting the Negotiations with Mary.—Respecting Mary.—Mary to Elizabeth—Residence—Shrewsbury.

Lord Burghley has given in a special paper* a view of the several negotiations with Mary, and stated the reasons of their constant failure.

They did not come to anything in 1568, he says, because C. Boyd and others had made a plan to steal the queen, especially, however, because she broke off the negotiations at Westminster.

They failed in 1569, because Mary's connection with the rebels in the North of England, and the plan of her marriage with Norfolk, were discovered.

They did not attain the object in 1570, because Mary was at the same time carrying on intrigues with Philip, the Duke of Alva, and the pope; and when the Scotch ambassadors were not provided with sufficient full powers, declared she could not assent to longer delay.

In 1582 they were interrupted by the discovery of Guise's plans against England, as well as by the attempts of Throckmorton and others in favour of Mary; and in 1583, because Aubigni, Balfour, and others, mortal enemies of Elizabeth, gained influence in Scotland; in 1584, because Parry's conspiracy, and Mary's connections with the discontented and malcontents, came to light. "From all this," says Burghley, "it is evident that the Scotch Queen never entered into any treaty but of purpose to abuse her majesty with some treacherous attempt."

It cannot be proved that Mary began all the ne-

* Cod., 4651, p. 239.

gotiations expressly for the purpose of deceiving Elizabeth and of more easily executing hostile plans; but it is certain that hostile efforts were made at the same time with the negotiations for peace, and that passion, precipitation, and imprudence rendered the obstacles, already very great, insurmountable. I repeat it, as soon as Mary (duly considering what she had done and suffered, and after impartial self-examination) became convinced that she must resign all ambitious plans, and that she was absolutely unqualified for the duties of government, she might, if her conscience permitted, have led unmolested and free from care a happy private life, in the enjoyment of cheerfulness and comfort. But as parties both at home and abroad saw in her a means to promote political and religious objects, and she too looked upon herself as the centre of a persecuted and unjustly oppressed world, the hatred towards her, and fear of her influence, increased every day, to such a degree that an unsullied preceding course of life and the greatest political prudence would not have been sufficient to have secured her. Wherever she was, in Spain, France, Scotland, or England, free or in prison, her life had missed its object, and was everywhere a source of discord. Her task was to close her accounts with herself and the world; not to renovate the latter, or to keep it in its old course. It is only to pure characters and great minds that God has given this power. It was a misfortune for the Catholic religion, that scarcely any but equivocal and narrow-minded, fanatic and immoral sovereigns at that time undertook its defence, as Mary Stuart and Francis II., Philip and Alva, Catherine de Medicis and Charles IX. All these did not benefit the

world; and whatever religious intolerance, false sensibility, and artificial criticism may allege, Maximilian II., William of Orange, Henry IV., and Elizabeth, are the more noble, elevated, creative minds, who understood the true spirit of government.

I Being convinced that what I have hitherto already communicated is sufficient to give a general knowledge of the grounds, and the course of the negotiations, I shall (to avoid innumerable repetitions) only select some portions from the long and tedious correspondence of various persons.

On the 29th of September, 1584, Mary wrote to Elizabeth from Tutbury*:—"I thank you for having assigned me a better lodging, but must complain that my keeper has announced to me an innovation in a rather authoritative manner, namely, the restriction of my ancient and usual correspondence with the French ambassador. I cannot account for this (to speak plainly to you) except by supposing that my enemies having caused me to be confined for ever, wish to deprive the other kings and princes of Christendom of all knowledge of my situation and treatment, in order more easily to conceal from them what happens to me. For as this does not in any manner affect your safety, I cannot find either reason or pretext for it. All that I write passes through the hands of your people, who see, read, examine, and keep it back, in order to point out to me any fault, if they find in it something offensive or injurious to you.

"I therefore entreat you to take off this restriction.

* Cod. 4651, p. 93.

I shall never refuse to apply directly and respectfully to you in everything that concerns me, coming from Scotland and France. But if you consider that, with my almost constant indisposition, I shall not always be able to write to you with my own hand, and that you yourself will not always take the trouble to read my long letters, which are generally tiresome through the daily repetition of the same subject, I am assured that you will relieve me from the one and yourself from the other. With respect to your counsellors, you will remember that you were displeased on a former occasion with my having applied directly to them, and their having answered me."

Notwithstanding this assurance of Mary, her keepers by no means got a sight of all her letters, and that their contents were not so unobjectionable is proved, and was probably the cause of the restriction. It likewise appears from many letters to Gray and others, which cannot be given here, that Mary was much dissatisfied with Elizabeth's influence in Scotland, and endeavoured to detach her son, whom she would have obey her alone, entirely from England *.

In November, 1584, Nau, Mary's secretary, presented new proposals for setting Mary at liberty †. They led to fresh deliberation on the state of England, Scotland, and France, and a comparison of all the arguments on both sides, of what was just, prudent, &c. But for the reasons often mentioned these negotiations came to nothing.

At the same time there were various discussions

* Cod., 4651, p. 129. † Ibid., p. 114.

respecting her lodging and her keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury. I subjoin a few particulars to what has been already stated.

At Tutbury everything was not at once arranged to her satisfaction, but pains were taken immediately to remedy what was deficient. The house (writes Mr. Somer on the 21st of December, 1584*) stands on a large fine verdant lawn, has towards the east a beautiful prospect, and also to the west, though not so extensive. There is a handsome dining-room about 36 feet long, adjoining that a good cabinet with a fire-place, then the bed-rooms, &c.

On the 2nd of March, 1585, Mary had still six horses, and the apartments are not smaller than those in which the great tragedies were performed at Holyrood.

The disputes between the Earl of Shrewsbury and his second wife had, in the mean time, risen to the highest pitch. She was a Countess Derby, and had two sons by her first husband, William Cavendish, namely, William and Charles. These disputes related not only to her estates, and her sons by the first marriage, but (as we have already seen) to other affairs, especially concerning Queen Mary. All came, at length, to the knowledge of Queen Elizabeth, and among a long list of questions and answers in reference to this point are the following †: —Has Shrewsbury done anything contrary to his duty since Mary has been committed to his keeping? Did he endeavour, during the past summer, to collect for her an army of 25,000? Above all (*imprimis*), whether his wife or his children know, or have re-

* Queen Mary, vol. iv.

† Lansdowne Bibl., Burghley Papers, vol. xl., Nos. 48, 49, 52-57, 62.

ported, that the Earl of Shrewsbury has children by the Scotch queen?

Neither the countess nor her sons answered these questions in the affirmative, and did not at all credit (say they in their examination) the latter charge, but admitted that they had repeated it as a report.

In a letter dated December, 1584*, Mary says, the Countess of Shrewsbury was obliged "to go upon her knees in the presence of the Queen of England and some principals of the council, and denied to her the shameful reports (*contes*) by herself spread against me."

Elizabeth, therefore, did not suffer the latter to be calumniated with impunity. Mary, however, was not always sufficiently cautious in her language, but repeated what the countess (with whom she was long on terms of intimacy) had said against Elizabeth†.

LETTER XLVII.

Plans of a War against England—Laws against Mary—Mary to Burghley—Report of Amyas Paulet—Mary to Mauvissiere.

Of the papers belonging to the year 1585, I shall first of all make a few extracts from a report‡, dated 8th of January, made by one Inglefield to the Pope and the King of Spain, respecting the affairs and the liberation of Mary. As the queen, in consequence of the change of her keeper and her residence, foresees many difficulties in the way of future communications,

* Queen Mary, vol. vii.
† Raumer's Hist. of Europe, vol. ii. p. 580.
‡ Cod., 4651, p. 212.

she has written the following:—"Of the treaty between the Queen of England and me for my liberty, I neither hope nor look for good issue; so that whatever shall become of me, by whatsoever change of my state and condition, let the *execution of the great plot and design go forward* without any respect to peril or danger for me. For I will account my life very happily bestowed, if I may, with the same, help and relieve a great number of the oppressed children of the church."

In the following year Mary recommended that the foreign troops might land, and Ingleficld adds, "It is to be considered that the Queen and council of England have made a secret resolution not only to deprive and disinherit the Queen of Scotland, but also to destroy her person and take away her life, if the Pope and King of Spain shall not, between the time prescribed, find some means either to deliver her, or at least so to occupy and molest the Queen of England, that she conceive and find (as hitherto she has done till of late) that the life and safety of the Queen of Scotland is, and has been, her principal security. King Philip must, however, the rather proceed, as he (next to Mary) has the first right to the English throne."

Councils and plans such as these did not by any means remain concealed, but effected just that which they were intended to prevent, namely, a powerful association for Elizabeth, and parliamentary laws*, and wherein, among other enactments, is "four-and-twenty persons or more of the royal privy council, or the House of Lords, at the command of the queen,

* Raumer's Hist. of Europe, vol. ii. p. 550.

are to carry on an investigation against all who are concerned in attacking the realm, raising an insurrection, injuring or murdering the queen, and this through or for another person who makes claim to the throne. He for whom, or through whom, the same is undertaken, shall forfeit all these claims, and shall, when sentenced by the appointed judges, be even punished with death."

Mary fancied she could not better prove her innocence of all the conspiracies and projects against Elizabeth than by joining the association herself; a step, however, which inspired so little confidence, that many designated it as mockery and deceit. On the 6th of February, 1585, Mary wrote to Burghley*: "It is not a little hard for me to see that the things about which I write have not even received an answer; for example, the association for the safety of the queen. I have not even been informed whether it (the notice of her wish to join in it) has been received and accepted. The people here do not know what to answer me, except that they will write themselves upon the subject. It might in the end appear as though they wished to treat me like a patient in a fever, who, when he asks for something to drink, is not answered, but the time is suffered to run away, so that he may forget it till the hour is passed. If the queen, my good sister, does not deem me worthy of an answer from herself, some other person may now and then send me one in her name; I am convinced that it does not arise from want of good nature in her, but from some person who does not put her in mind. If I do not receive

* Cod., 6993.

some comfort from her, I am much out in my reckoning."

In the mean time, it had been thought advisable to appoint Amyas Paulet to be Mary's keeper. The following particulars are taken from his reports.

AMYAS PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

"5th June, 1585.

"I will look over the packets intended for Mary when they have been delivered to me. My plain, round, and sincere dealing (if it be lawful to say so well of myself) doth win me credit, because they find that as I do not fear to do the duty of my charge, so I do nothing maliciously or frowardly."

Report of the 10th of June*.

"Mary complained to Paulet that she was restricted in distributing of alms, that Elizabeth had not inquired after her during her illness, and Paulet replied to her; for instance, that alms ought not to be given to gain the favour of the people, &c.

"Nau," continues Paulet, "excites Mary to violent measures. He should beware to abuse his great credit to her hurt by his distemperate and violent counsels, wherein his haste might make more waste in one hour, than he could recompose in all his life after. I know Nau better than I may make known by writing, and I know him so well that I would be glad with all my heart he were removed." In a report of the 8th of June, he says, "Mary cannot escape without great negligence on my part. If I should be violently attacked, so I will be assured, by the grace of God, that she shall die before me. The constant vigilance, watching, and the washer-

* Cod., 6993.

women, &c. give me a very great deal of trouble. Sometimes Mary is carried in her chair in the garden; but uses sometimes her feet, being sustained by two of her gentlemen, so that it seems her legs are yet weak, and indeed are wrapped in gross manner, as has appeared to my wife."

"There is no other house or seat in the neighbourhood to which Mary could be moved *."

On the 16th of August Paulet gives the following account of a long conversation with Mary †: she said, "that she had given herself wholly to her Majesty in all humbleness, in all faithfulness, in all sincerity, in all integrity, (I use her own words,) and had renounced all foreign help to please her Highness, and thereby given her to know that she depended wholly of her. That her words had no credit; she was not believed; and her proffers refused, when they might have done good. That she had proffered her heart and body to her Majesty; her body is taken, and great care had for the safe keeping of it, but her heart is refused. She said, if she were employed she might do good, and when she shall be required hereafter, it will be too late. Then she is said to boast, when she offered herself and her service with all humbleness; then she is said to flatter; that she feeled the smart of every accident that happened to the danger of her Majesty's person or estate, although she were guiltless in hand and tongue. That if she had desired great liberty, her Majesty might have justly been jealous of her, but she desired only reasonable liberty for her health. That if the treaty had proceeded between her

* Report of the 8th of August, Cod. 6993. † Ibid.

Majesty and her, she knowed France had now been quiet. That, in considering the indispositions of her body, she had no hope of long life, and much less of a pleasant life, having lost the use of her limbs, and therefore is far from the humours of ambition, desiring only to be well accepted where she shall deserve well, and by that means during her short days to carry a contented and satisfied mind. That it was not her calling to win fame by victories, but would think herself happy if, by her mediation, peace might be entertained in all the countries generally, and in this country especially. That if she had spoken with the King of Navarre his ambassador at his being here this last winter, she thinketh there had been now good amitie between her Majesty and the house of Guise, and did not doubt to have done some good if she had been made acquainted with his last coming here. That her son is a stranger unto her, but if he should be possessed with ambition, he might play of both hands and do bad offices. That he did express to her in his letters that she was shut up in a desert, so as he could not send to her, or hear from her, which was the reason that he did help himself by other means the best he could, and was forced to do so. Finally, that although she had been esteemed as nobody, and had determined when her help was hereafter required to be indeed as nobody, and so to answer; yet for the love she beareth her Majesty and this realm, she will not refuse to employ her best means, if it shall please her Highness to use her service, which she will do, not so much for respect of her own particular as for her Majesty's security and benefit of this

realm. I omit the protestations of her sincere and upright dealing with her Majesty, and her solemn oaths, that she had not of long time given or received any intelligence to or from any of her friends, because they are no new things unto you. It seemed she would not satisfy herself with speaking, and therefore I said the lesser, advising her to comfort herself with your Majesty's favour, whereof no doubt some good effect would come, if herself or her friends did not give cause to the contrary. I know this kind of matter is not new unto you, and perchance I should have forborne in some other time to have reported the same; but, considering the scope of her Majesty's letter unto this queen, I thought it agreeable with my duties to acquaint you with her speeches, and so do refer them to your better consideration."

If we compare this conversation with other accounts and testimonies, we discover the reasons why no credit could be given to Mary's assurances; nay, it appears from this very same conversation, that while she affirms that she has renounced all ambitious plans, her inclination to correspond with the ambassador continues, and she still affirms that Elizabeth's safety depends upon her will, and that her mediation is powerful enough to give peace to the world.

About the same time she was so ill that, had she still possessed the throne, the idea of abdication would have been more natural, than that of a restoration to it was under present circumstances.

Instead of giving more detailed extracts, which furnish nothing new, from the diffuse correspondence of Mary, which presents a strange confusion and

blending of truth and falsehood, cunning and ambiguity*, some intimations may suffice, which conduct us to the last turn in her history.

On the 23rd of September, 1585, Paulet writes†: "The indisposition of the queen's body, and the great infirmity of her leg, which is so desperate, as herself doth not hope of any recovery, is no small advantage to her keeper, who shall not need to stand in great fear of her running away, if he can foresee that she be not taken away from him by force."

"Mary," says another report‡, "is very much grieved with ache in her limbs, so as she is not able to move in her bed without great help, and when she is moved, endures great pain."

On her arrival at Tutbury, Mr. Somer gave up his own bed to her, but as it was an ordinary one much worn, and the feathers came through the ticking, Paulet had procured her a down bed. Though her situation in Tutbury was thus improved, Mary wished to be removed from it to Chartley, but there was no house there that had suitable accommodations, nor did Mary recover her health here. At least, Paulet writes on the 25th of April, 1586§, "I found Mary sitting upon the side of the bed, but not yet able to use her feet. She touched upon the French troubles, wherein we differ in opinion very much. Many of her servants are ill, and I have great trouble in

* Queen Mary, vols. iv. vi.

† Ibid., vol. v. p. 279.

‡ Ibid. Report of the 2nd of February, 1586, and the 23rd of September, 1585.

§ Queen Mary, vol. vi. Already, in the reports of the year 1565, mention is made of an injury Mary had sustained in the side, and that she might live long, but would probably never enjoy good health. Correspondence of Scotland, vol. viii. of the 19th of November, 1565.

nursing them. I have kept her fasting from all sorts of news, good and bad, but I believe she has secret means of getting news."

We may here insert Mary's letter of complaint to Mauvissiere and Chateauneuf, written in 1586*:—

"Foreseeing that it will be late before I receive your answer to my last communication, I will without waiting for it lay my just complaint before you, that Sir Amyas Paulet, in reply to my memorial respecting my lodging, attendants, &c., has delivered to me an answer which is, in fact, a plain refusal. Although these things appear to my good sister the Queen of England but trifling, and of no moment, they are, nevertheless, of great importance, as regards the preservation of my life and health, and all that I have left to console me within the walls of my prison. I see, however, daily that they desire to reduce me to the utmost extremity, for if my necessities were not so urgent, I would not trouble her with so many petitions, remonstrances, and entreaties, which to me appears paying a very high price for them. It is also most painful to me, that in return for the duty which I have voluntarily imposed upon myself to submit to the queen's pleasure in all things, so little regard is paid to her honour and my comfort by my present mode of treatment.

"In order that you may be fully acquainted with all the particulars, that you may represent them in my name to the queen, who I believe has never been properly informed of them, I shall observe, first, in regard to my lodging, that my residence is a

* Without further intimation of place or date.—Raumer's Letters, vol. iii. p. 169. In the copy printed by Earl Bridgewater it is dated Tuthbury, 6th of September, 1585.

place inclosed with walls, situated on an eminence, and consequently exposed to all the winds and storms of heaven. Within this inclosure there is, like as at Vincennes, a very old hunting-seat, built of wood and plaster, with chinks on all sides, with the uprights, the intervals between which are not properly filled up, and the plaster dilapidated in numberless places. The house is about six yards distant from the walls, and so low that the terrace on the other side is as high as the house itself, so that neither the sun nor the fresh air can penetrate it at that side. The damp, however, is so great there, that every article of furniture is covered with mouldiness in the space of four days. You may judge for yourself how this must affect my health. In a word, the rooms for the most part are fit rather for a dungeon for the lowest and most abject criminals than for a residence of a person of my rank, or even of a much inferior one. No gentleman in this country, yea, no inferior, I am convinced, would wish to accommodate me worse than themselves; he would consider it as a punishment and tyranny if he were shut up a twelvemonth in such a habitation, so confined and uncomfortable as that in which I am constrained to dwell. I have for my own accommodation only wretched little rooms, and so cold, that were it not for the protection of the curtains and tapestries which I have had put up, I could not endure it by day, and still less by night. In fact, there is scarcely one among those who have nursed me during my illness who has escaped without some sickness, fluxion, or cold. Sir Amyas Paulet will bear witness, that during this time three of my women were laid up at once. Nay, my physician himself, who has also come in for a

share, has several times declared, that if I remained in this house he could not undertake the charge of my health during the ensuing winter. For even if they were to furbish it up, or repair and enlarge it, I should never be able to live here, as there is nothing on earth that I can stand less than the least damp air.

"With respect to the house which it is proposed I should inhabit during the said alterations, it adjoins that which I have described, and even, according to Sir Amyas Paulet's statement, will not accommodate my people. I have, however, several reasons to fear inhabiting such a lone dwelling, but will say nothing respecting it here.

"In regard to other convenience, I much want an additional room, into which I can sometimes retire, as I have no place where I can be alone, except two little dark holes which are towards the wall, and the largest is scarcely three yards square. If I desire to go out either on foot or in my chair to get a little fresh air, there being no open space on the top of the hill, I have scarcely a quarter of an acre left me, in the neighbourhood of the stables, which Mr. Somer has had ploughed during the last winter, and encompassed with a wooden fence, and which deserves the name of pigstye rather than of a garden. There is scarcely a sheep-fold in any field which is not more agreeable.

"With regard to horse exercise, the roads are so bad, as I experienced last winter, from the effects of snow and rain, that one cannot go even a mile in a carriage, and I am at last obliged to have recourse to my feet.

"I must also acquaint you (though I am ashamed

to do so) that this house is so filled with the lowest people, that, notwithstanding every effort, it is impossible long to maintain order; and as there are no sewers, I am exposed to a constant stench, and when they are emptied every Saturday, 'Je ne recoy pas de peu plaisantes cassolettes.'

"I must add one thing in conclusion, and to which respect is paid even to persons in an inferior station, especially during illness: this place was my first prison in this realm, and I suffered here so much rigour, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate, and wrote to the Queen of England before I came here. In this gloomy notion I have been confirmed by the circumstance that the priest, after he had been cruelly tortured, was hanged on the wall opposite my windows, as I have already written to M. Mauvissiere; and about four or five days ago, another poor man was found drowned in the well, though I will not compare this with the other.

"I have lost my good Rallay—she was my best comfort in my misfortune; another of my unhappy people has died since, and several still suffer much from sickness.

"Being destitute of all conveniences and comforts here, nothing but Elizabeth's promise that I should be well treated has hitherto sustained my patience; otherwise, I should never have set my foot into it, unless I had been dragged hither by force, as force alone shall induce me to remain here. Should I die, I ascribe my death to this residence, and to those who keep me here, in order, as it seems, to make me doubt the good will of the queen, my sister;

for what may I expect in important matters, if I am treated so in trifling and unimportant ones, and faith is not kept with me even in them?"

LETTER XLVIII.

Maintenance of Mary—Association for Elizabeth—Mary's Accession to it—Her Promises and Intrigues—Babington—Mary and Spain—Mendoza.

If, on the one hand, there is no doubt that Mary's complaints of her lodgings and treatment are exaggerated, we must not pronounce them to be wholly groundless; yet it was scarcely possible to come to an understanding while she required to be treated as a queen, and her adversaries that she should be treated as a criminal.

But the question may be asked, whether Elizabeth would not have done better if she had kept Mary (as Seleucus did Demetrius Poliorcetes) in voluptuous enervating superfluity? But profusion of this description was not agreeable to the character of Elizabeth and of those times, and it might be apprehended that ambitious notions would thereby be rather encouraged than weakened in Mary.

A medium, however, might have been found between Asiatic prodigality and wretched beds or rooms, and the appearance of hatred or of indifference should have been avoided. The maintenance of Mary certainly cost no inconsiderable sum, and the number of her attendants was greater, even

to her death, than her complaints would lead us to suppose.

Be that as it may, the feeling of increasing compassion for Mary is mixed with something unpleasant when the insincerity of her conduct at the same time again manifests itself. Whether this observation is unfounded or unjust will be shown by the following, as well as by the preceding, documents.

Mary's accession to the association for Elizabeth is in the following terms*:—"The Queen of Scotland, Queen Dowager of France, having learnt that to obviate all attempts against the life of the Queen of England, her good sister, an association has been lately formed of some of the principal noblemen of this kingdom, and desiring in this, as in all other things, to give to the Queen of England, her good sister, a proof of her entire attachment and sincerity; and regarding herself as the nearest relation, bound to see to her preservation, declares and promises of her own free will, on the word of a queen, and by her good faith and honour, that henceforward and for ever she will consider all those, without exception, as her mortal enemies, who by advice, instigation, consent, or any other way, shall undertake, or, which God forbid, execute anything against the life of the said queen, her good sister. She will pursue

* Queen Mary, vol. v., of the 5th of January, 1586. I should take it to be 1585, were not the document (besides the date) placed in the series at the beginning of 1586, immediately following the documents for the whole year 1585. On the other hand, the name of the place from which it is dated, Wingfield, points to the year 1585. However that may be, the contents of the document are the same.

them by every means, and to the utmost, as her enemies, and will never cease till just, full, and equitable punishment shall have overtaken them. In testimony whereof, for the confirmation of that union, and for the information of all whom it concerns, the said Queen of Scotland has signed these presents with her own hand."—*Wingfield, 5th of January*, 1586.

On the 31st of January, 1586*, Mary wrote in great detail to the French ambassador how their secret correspondence was to be arranged. She speaks of cyphers, secret writing on silk and linen, of hiding in the lids of trunks, soles of shoes, &c., all which probably came to the knowledge of her adversaries and increased their suspicions. She wrote to Elizabeth respecting it on the 22nd of March, 1586†. "I will only mention to you, and assure you upon my honour and conscience, that I do not think you will find that I have ever engaged in any manner whatever in an enterprise against you, as I abhor, more than any person in Christendom, such detestable practices and horrible deeds. For I must freely tell you, Madam, that I may expect those who aim at your life, to do the same to me, and that my life, in a manner, depends upon yours; for I well know that if you perish, you have about you the new associates, who will soon send me after you, &c. I will endeavour more than ever to please, honour and love, and truly and faithfully obey and serve you."

Mary had, indeed, at this time, little to hope for

* Queen Mary, vol. vii. † Ibid., vol. v.

from France; for Henry III. had written to his ambassador Chateauneuf in London*:—"I have indeed interested myself for the liberation of Mary, but I do not think it advisable at this time to renew the negotiation. Yet, if you find a favourable opportunity, you may make some overtures, but only in such a manner that nothing may be suspected or misinterpreted, and so that my own affairs may not suffer any prejudice."

Mary, therefore, in contradiction to all her assurances, went on in her own course, and thereby came nearer and nearer to destruction.

On the 6th of May, 1586, Morgan†, one of her secret agents, wrote to her in praise of Babington. He says:—"He is a member to be recovered and to be respected, being a gentleman of a good house and a good alliance. If the intelligence be once well settled between your Majesty and Babington *againe*, I am of opinion that it shall not be amiss that your Majesty write three or four lines of your own hand to the said Babington, declaring your good conceit of him, and the confidence you repose in him, and thank him for his good affection towards your Majesty."

On the 21st of May Mary wrote to Charles Paget, another of her agents‡. "The undertaking against England (viz. that of Philip II.) appears to me the safest and most proper to further my affairs, and entirely to get rid of the malice of this queen. We can no longer expect that gentle remedies will cure these ulcers, and expel the bad humours which pro-

* Raumer's Letters, ii., p. 168, from Pinart, vol. 8808. Bibl. roy. MSS.

† Queen Mary, vol. iv. ‡ Ibid., vol. vi.

duce them. Scotland must also be gained. I shall bring about a secret league between the principal noblemen of that country and their adherents, to be associated with the King of Spain, and to execute, according to his wishes, whatever may be judged necessary for the furtherance of the enterprise. I will likewise find means, by way of affording greater security, to deliver my son into the hands of the king or of the pope, on the condition that he shall be set at liberty when I require it, or that after my death (on his embracing the Catholic religion) he shall be permitted to return to England, and that the King of Spain shall not, in this case, be entitled to make any claim to the crown. But if my son should not become a Catholic, I intend to leave the kingdom by will to King Philip, as the weal of Christendom requires it. This must be kept secret, for if it were to transpire, I should lose my jointure in France, in Scotland a complete breach with my son would follow, and in this kingdom my entire ruin."

The same day Mary wrote to Parsons*:—"I shall always esteem it for no small happiness to concur in actions so important for the realm and common quietness of all Christendom with a prince *so meet in all respects* for effecting the same, as I see he is."

On the 22nd of May, the day following†, Nau said to one Boullanger, "Mary was neither hydropsical nor cancreusé in her legs, nor malade à la mort, but that she increased in health and strength daily, hoping in time to see her perfectly recovered to the comfort of all her friends." On the 3rd of June,

* Queen Mary, vol. vi. Paulet to Burghley. † Ibid.

Paulet says, "The queen is rather better; she drove out to witness the wild duck chase; she can, however, walk but little, and not without being supported on each side."

On the 25th of June Mary wrote the first letter to Babington that has become known, and on the 2nd of July the following letter to the Spanish ambassador Bernardin de Mendoza*:—

"I write to you chiefly to certify the receipt of your letter of the 4th of April, and to assure you that I do not attribute the delay of your plans to the king your master, for I have always seen him proceed steadily, as well in the general concerns of religion, as in everything relating to myself. Wherefore I should be very unthankful were I to entertain any other opinion of him. That I suffer is the will of God, and I am ready to bend my neck under the yoke, and this delay does not trouble me so much on my own account as the misery which many honourable persons in this kingdom daily endure. I feel the public misfortune more than my own. I have instructed my ambassador to confer with you on the payment of some sums of money which Lords Paget, and Arundel, and Morgan laid out about three years ago, upon a promise that his holiness and your master would reimburse them. I beg you to interest yourself as much as possible for their satisfaction, as this is not only just and important to the persons concerned, but likewise necessary for my own safety."

* Raumer's Letters, ii., 175.

LETTER XLIX.

Babington's Conspiracy—Elizabeth's Alliance with James—Mary's Correspondence.

So much has already been printed respecting Babington's conspiracy and its tragical consequences, and the mass of unpublished papers is yet so voluminous, that we are embarrassed to what parts of the former to call the reader's attention, and what new particulars to select from the latter. On the other side, there are certain views, wishes, and prejudices, so deeply rooted that the most circumstantial illustrations make no impression. Some facts, too, notwithstanding all means to clear them up, are still involved in such obscurity, that every one is disposed to transform the indistinct figure which appears to him, into an image with well-defined outlines agreeable to his own wishes.

Under these circumstances I must take it for granted that the documents and papers hitherto printed are known to my reader as they are to you, because a repetition would be quite out of place here. Secondly, with reference to this supposition, I consider it to be best to give my new extracts in strict chronological order, because the gradual course of events will thereby be best cleared up and explained. There will be an opportunity in the sequel to state and to examine any remaining doubts and objections.

A great impression appears to have been made on Mary's mind by the new strict alliance, which, after long negotiation, was at length concluded on the 5th of July, 1586, between her son and Elizabeth. This treaty does not indeed secure any here-

ditary right to James*, but neither is any mention made of Mary, the treaty being negotiated and concluded as if she were not in existence. She felt herself highly neglected and offended by this: it may, however, be answered,

First, by the will of Henry VIII. she had no hereditary right, and the farther decision on this point, according to the clearly expressed enactments, was entirely in the hands of Queen Elizabeth.

Secondly, the latter still tacitly reserved to herself the final decision.

Thirdly, the demand that James should join with Spain for his mother and the Catholic religion against Elizabeth was absolutely impossible, with the sentiments entertained by him and his subjects, and would doubtless have deprived him of all prospect of succeeding to the English throne.

Fourthly, the majority of the English, as well as the Scotch, considered Mary's claims to sovereignty to have been long since forfeited, and an acknowledgment of it by Elizabeth at that time would have been the most absurd and unpopular step she could have taken. Besides this, we may mention that Mary's connection with Spain and individual conspirators had by no means remained a secret.

Already on the 6th or 7th of July Walsingham and Philipps were engaged in looking for Babington and Ballard†, and on the 12th of July Mary wrote to Morgan‡.

* I find another draught of the treaty which fully secures the pretensions of James, and which he wished to be signed. This was, however, never done by Elizabeth, but Mary probably learnt what had passed.

† Queen Mary, vol. vi. ‡ Ibid.

"As to Babington, he has both kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him, by two of my several letters, since I had his, and the rather for that I opened him the way whereby I had received his with yours aforesaid. He had, *since that mine* had prevented him, with all lawful excuses shown on my part, of the long silence between us, and for his jealousy of Fulgean (?), or any other, I truly gave him no cause, and if my former ordinary order had not been marred through some of their own, too liberal and unneedful declaring and revealing of their negotiations and good will, in every case, more of them had now been in place to have served better in general, and particular for their own benefit and my greater comfort; I shall, nevertheless, do my best to entertain Babington, according to your advice."

This letter, which is deciphered by the secretary of state, Philipps, is, with numberless others, supposed by some critics to be counterfeit. It would, however, be not a little strange that Philipps should think of adding the following respecting himself, and putting it into the Queen of Scotland's mouth: "Mr. Philipps is of low stature, slender every way, dark-yellow haired on the head, and clear yellow bearded, eated in the face with small-pox, of short sight, thirty years of age by appearance."

At a time when Elizabeth's ministers were at least in a way to discover the whole conspiracy, Mary still wrote in the greatest security, respecting her dangerous projects, to Mendoza, the Bishop of Glasgow, Paget, and others.

MARY TO MENDOZA, THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR.

"27th July, 1586*.

"I must freely confess to you, that I have been so much discouraged to enter into new undertakings (on account of the little effect that I saw produced by the first), that I have turned a deaf ear, for the last six months, to various overtures and propositions made to me by the Catholics, because I could not give them a positive answer. After what I had learnt here of the good intentions of the King of Spain towards these kingdoms, I wrote at much length to the principal of these Catholics respecting the plan, which I accompanied with my advice relative to each particular, in order that they may consent to unite unanimously in carrying them into effect. I have also instructed them, in order to save time, to confer with you as soon as possible."

MARY TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

"27th July, 1586†.

"Entreat the lord-treasurer that he be careful in the choice of a new guardian for me, that whatever may happen, whether it be the death of the Queen of England or a rebellion in the country, my life may be safe. But take care to speak to Lord Burghley in such a manner that he may not suspect that you have received this communication through any secret channel from me. Complain to him also that, contrary to the repeated promise of his sovereign, a treaty has been concluded with my son without my concurrence. This affords me a very just ground to feel myself grievously offended, if it is true, as I have been informed that by the secret articles of

* Queen Mary, vol. viii. † Ibid.

that treaty, the immediate succession to the crown is secured to my son on the death of the Queen of England.

"It would be too hard so unjustly to degrade me at the end of eighteen years' imprisonment, and attempt to deprive me of the only consolation I expected from it, namely, that if God did not permit me to enjoy the crown myself, my posterity should at least receive it from me. To speak plainly, this prospect has been the chief cause that has made me more patient in enduring this imprisonment than I should otherwise have been. If I am deprived of this hope, *there is no extremity on which I would not venture,* to deliver myself from the misery in which I am, because it must lead, in the end, to my entire ruin and to my dishonour*."

MARY TO CHARLES PAGET.

"29th July, 1586†.

"If ever the pope and the King of Spain have had the intention to provide for this state, the occasion is now offered them very advantageous, finding therein universally the said Catholics so disposed and forward as there is more ado to keep them back, than in putting them to the contrary. And for all objections and difficulties that the said Mendoza can allege, as my getting forth of this hold or otherwise, he shall be thereof sufficiently cleared and satisfied. There resteth then only but to pursue so hotly as can be, both in Rome and Spain, their grant of the support requisite, as well of horsemen and footmen as of armour, munition, and more."

* Si l'esperance m'en est une fois otée, il n'y a extremité, on ne me hazarde, pour me delivrer de la misère où je suis.

† Bibl. Cottoniana, Caligula, C. ix., p. 278.

About the same time, Mary received the well-known letter from Babington, in which he details at great length the plan for the assassination of Elizabeth. On the 27th of July, when Mary writes to the French ambassador that she was resolved to venture every extremity, she wrote to Babington a very circumstantial answer, entering into all the details, such as the arming, flight, precaution, &c.; and above all praises the six men who had bound themselves by an oath to murder Elizabeth, and holds out to them the prospects of great reward*.

LETTER L.

Mary's Participation in Babington's Conspiracy—Its Discovery—Elizabeth to Paulet—The Arrest of Nau and Curl—Seizure of Mary's Papers.

As in the history of the conspiracy against Darnley all the documents, all internal and external proofs, are answered by the one word "forgery," the same is the case in Babington's conspiracy. In the first instance, the pretended cheats and forgers of lies gave themselves but little trouble; a simple series of letters and a dozen sonnets sufficed. How the supposed forgers became acquainted with the substance of the letters; how the unloving, prosaic Puritans were able to compose such warm love-songs; about these and numberless other points the unconditional advocates of Mary gave themselves no trouble.

They are equally bold and resolute in the second

* Chalmer's History of Mary, vol. i. p. 426. Rapin, vol. vi. p. 391.

instance. Whatever is produced against Mary is fictitious, and forged by Elizabeth, Burghley, Walsingham, and Heaven knows whom besides. But never was the principle—*quod potest fieri per pauca, nol debit fieri per plurima*—more disregarded and violated than by these forgers. Instead of forging at once a document directly proving Mary's guilt, there are in the State Paper Office whole folios full of cyphered and decyphered correspondence, which is most closely connected together, runs into the minutest particulars, agrees in remote allusions, is responded to in all parts of the world, &c. According to the belief of those incredulous objectors, these folios do not contain real letters in cypher, but unmeaning scribble and nonsense, or at least not that which has been arbitrarily deduced, or rather forged out of them.

All the forged papers and documents that occur in the whole history of the world are not equal in quantity to a hundredth part of what the falsehoods which the English ministers for mere pastime must have strung together on Mary Stuart alone; for to recognise the greater part as genuine, and then to reject, as may seem convenient, the strongest passages, is still more absurd, because the whole forms an uninterrupted series, the several parts of which naturally follow and explain each other.

Unquestionably a thousand little doubts may be raised respecting dates, signatures, place of abode, dispatching, arresting or not arresting, messengers, &c. &c. Whole volumes might be written on the subject, and such a dust raised, that in the end we should not be able to see our way; but I confess to you, my dear friend, I feel neither the desire nor the

vocation to torment myself with all these trifles. I will not contend with those who look on this as the highest triumph of historical criticism and art, and judge me incapable and unworthy to enter this sanctuary. I find, in the great course of historical events, as well as in the slightest psychological indications and expressions, so many concurrent proofs, that I scarcely need writings and documents, to be convinced of the truth of that which Elizabeth, and her counsellors, and her whole parliament, were convinced of at that time.

The genuineness of the documents, of the depositions, the signatures of all the accused, is guaranteed, besides, by the written acknowledgments and signatures of Shrewsbury, Walsingham, Howard, Burghley, Hunsdon, Cobham, Knollys, Hopton, Popham, Egerton, and others. But, it is objected, this is the band of the forgers. You, my friend, are far from entertaining these sentiments, and so I take courage to proceed with my historical extracts.

On the 4th of August, a person of the name of Millis writes*, that Bal. (Ballard) is arrested, and consults with Philipps what more shall be done, "whether it shall be best to take Bab. (Babington) or no, for I might as easily have taken all the rest as one."

On the 7th of August, Curl writes to one Emilio in the following terms, which are rather obscure:— "If you think you can find Babington at London, by some means to make her majesty's two letters, which you have already, be surely delivered to him†."

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

† Ibid., vol. viii.

Meantime, however, the whole conspiracy was already discovered. It not only appeared to be more formidable in itself than any of the preceding, but derived so much importance by its connection with the immense armaments in Spain, that even Elizabeth herself, otherwise so fearless, was filled with apprehension. At least, a letter from her to Amyas Paulet, of which a copy has been preserved *; was probably written about this time. It is in the following terms :—

"Amyas, my most faithful and careful servant, God reward thee treblefold for the most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly besides most dutifully my grateful heart accepts and prizes your spotless endeavours and faultless actions, your wise orders and safe regard, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your troubles (travails) and rejoice your heart, in which I charge you place this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith, and shall condemn me in that fault which I never committed. If I reward not such deserts, you let me lack when I have most need; if I acknowledge no such merit, *non omnibus dictum.*

"Let your wicked murderess know how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compel these orders, and bid her from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saviour of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of my own, and yet, not contented with so many forgiveness,

* Cod. Harl., 4649.

must fault again so horribly, far passing a woman's thought, much less a princess. Instead of excusing whereof, not one can sorrow, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her so, as her better part may not be lost, for which I pray with hands lifted up to Him that may both save and spill (kill?), with my most loving adieu and prayer for thy long life. Your most assured and loving sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced."

On the 27th of August*, Paulet thankfully acknowledges this gracious letter, and gives an account of the execution of the order to bring Mary back to Chartley, and from thence to Fotheringay.

Another order states that Mary's letters are to be seized, and her secretary to be taken into custody. The first information we meet with on this subject is a letter from M. d'Esneval, a Frenchman, to Courcelles† :—"A few days ago Paulet took Mary to the chase, whither she was accompanied by all her attendants, even Nau and Curl. On the way Georges the elder turned to her, and told her that he had received orders from the queen to take her to Tyxhall, a country-seat of Edward Haston, three miles from Chartley, and that Nau and Curl were to be taken into custody, which put the queen into such a passion, that she used very insulting language of the messenger and his mistress, and even demanded that her people should protect her. Georges, however being the strongest, led away the secretary, and Paulet the queen, as it had been determined. In

* Queen Mary, vol. vi. † Ibid., vol. vii.

the mean time, Wade, a secretary of the privy council, took possession of the queen's papers at Chartley, and sent them away with the prisoners."

On the 27th of August Paulet dispatched the following report from Chartley*:—"As Mary" (on her return from this place) "was coming out of Sir Walter Aston's gate, she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentleman, she said, weeping, 'Good God! I am not witting or privy to anything intended against the queen.'

"She visited Curl's wife, who was delivered of child in her absence, before she went to her own chamber, willing her to be of good comfort, and that she would answer for her husband in all things that might be objected against him. Curl's child remaining unbaptized, and the priest removed before the arrival of their lady, she desired that my minister might baptize the child, with such godfathers as I might procure, so as the child might bear her name, which being refused† she came shortly after in Curl's wife's chamber, where, taking the child on her knees, she took water out of a basin, and casting it upon the face of the child, she said, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and Son, and the Holy Ghost,' calling the child by her own name, Mary. This may not be found strange in her who maketh no conscience to break the laws of God and man.

"On her coming hither Mr. Darell delivered the

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

† Probably because this child was to have been baptized and brought up according to the Catholic faith.

keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress, who required Mr. Darell to open her chamber-door, which he did, and then this lady finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her, her English blood and her Catholic religion, which both she would keep unto her death, adding further these words, 'Some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers. I was not present when these words were spoken, but no doubt they reached unto me*, in what sense she only knoweth. I may be sorry for others, but I know there is nothing in her papers that can give me cause to be sorry for myself."

LETTER LI.

Chateauneuf respecting Babington's Conspiracy—Esneval the French Ambassador.

THE foreign ambassadors received and gave intelligence of all that passed. Chateauneuf, writing on the subject to Henry III., says†:—

"I have not been able to send your majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all Catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are

* These words may perhaps mean, "they concern me."

† Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. p. 176.

much incensed against the Catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be Catholics. Bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the queen on the 15th of August (*my Août*), and, according to the plan agreed upon, every Catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place Queen Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, 'I know that the Queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The King of France will have news in a few days that will little please him.' I replied, that she ought not to believe every calumny that was contrived against the queen her prisoner, who had (as she well knew) many enemies in this kingdom. I further entreated her to explain to me the words respecting your majesty, as they would appear as strange to you as they did to me. She replied, her ambassador at Paris would give this explanation. On my urging her more closely, and saying I knew not what bad news could reach your majesty from this country, as she was your ally, and was in good health, she merely added, She believed your majesty would find it very strange that so wicked a plot had been contrived against her.

"For the understanding of this, I must inform your majesty, that during the ten or twelve days

that the investigations were carried on with the greatest ardour, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your majesty and the King of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered were concealed in my house, and that it ought to be forcibly searched. Those of her council who believed this caused all the avenues and the neighbouring houses to be guarded, in order that I might not let them effect their escape during the night; every one, indeed, who has left my house since that time has been stopped and closely questioned. I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered, &c. The only answer I received was, 'The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained.' Walsingham, the Secretary of State, said the same thing had occurred at Paris on the night of St. Bartholomew. Whereupon I wrote to them to say, that so far from wishing to conceal those of whom they were in search, I was, on the contrary, ready to open my house and suffer it to be searched. But I could get nothing from them but fair speeches, and it was not till the parties they were in search of were arrested, ten or twelve leagues off, that the tumult in some measure subsided, and the guard removed from my house, although several spies still continue to be stationed in the neighbourhood to watch those who go in or out.

"I therefore made heavy complaints to the queen last Sunday, and named to her those who had openly

maligned your majesty, (most of them Frenchmen who have fled here on account of their religion,) and demanded their punishment. Elizabeth answered, She much regretted it, and had never entertained a bad opinion of your majesty. Should any one malign your majesty, she was ready to have him punished; nevertheless, it was not possible to prevent people from speaking, and she well knew that perhaps an hundred thousand persons spoke ill of her in France. Upon this, I said, 'If her ambassador would give himself the trouble and name them, your majesty would see that justice was done.' She added, 'Then it would be necessary to examine the accused and ascertain the truth of it.' Although, therefore, the facts are well known, and the words spoken in the public market-place, I should be compelled to bring forward evidences and witnesses, and to name those who had informed me of the whole, which I would in no case do. Wherefore I pray you, sire, speak to the English ambassador at Paris, or else command me what I should do in this business.

"I afterwards spoke to Elizabeth respecting the ships which had sailed to Rochelle with men and ammunition, and were equipped by fugitive Protestants. She answered, 'I know nothing of the matter; and if I arm, it is to protect myself against my enemies, and not to offend my friends. They desire to kill me or drive me out of the kingdom, and to place the Queen of Scotland upon the throne. But I will put all these things in order.'

"After Elizabeth had uttered many other bitter remarks on Mary, I took my leave, for it was late, and on my return to this city learnt that Nau and Curl, secretaries of the Queen of Scotland, were

brought here yesterday evening prisoners, with a large chest full of papers, and that they are strictly guarded in Walsingham's house. This, sire, in connection with what Elizabeth said, induces me to conjecture that she will ill treat the Queen of Scotland, and the more so as she takes from her Mr. Nau, her principal servant. I hear, too, that he is strictly interrogated respecting the conspiracy, and rigorously guarded.

"For these reasons I send my secretary to your majesty, and request that you will as soon as possible acquaint me with your pleasure, in case they should proceed with the process against Nau, and even against the queen. For I believe that there are people here who contemplate doing her an ill turn in parliament at Michaelmas next; and since now Nau is brought here with all his papers, there can be no other intention than by some means or other to effect the ruin of Queen Mary."

The letter of an officer of the English court* of the 21st of August, addressed to Walsingham, gives rather a different account of the matter. He says, "The queen liked very well the order taken for the safe bringing of Nau and Curl. This afternoon the French ambassador residing here, and M. d'Esneval, who is come out of Scotland, had audience, and her majesty told me that she never saw a man more perplexed than the ambassador here; for when he was about to speak, every joint in his body did shake, and his countenance changed, and especially when this intended enterprise was somewhat mentioned by her majesty. Whereupon seeming to take

* The name is written very illegibly; I read, Ricasines Yetswert.

some more heart unto him, he said unto her majesty, 'I would have moved some suits unto you, but that I see that your majesty is somewhat troubled with these *jeunes folâtres* that are apprehended.' "'Yea,' said her majesty, 'they be such *jeunes folâtres* as some of them may spend ten and twenty thousand francs of rents, and it may be there are some may spend more.'"

LETTER LII.

Mary's Letters to Babington—Confessions of Babington, Nau, and Curl—Walsingham to Curl—Burghley to Walsingham.

BEFORE I give several extracts from the confessions of the persons accused, I must again return to previous transactions. In Babington's letter to Mary, the authenticity of which scarcely any person has called in question, a principal passage is in the following terms*:—"There are six noble gentlemen, and all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear for the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake this tragical execution." That the assassination of Elizabeth is here meant is placed beyond all doubt by the further contents of the letter.

Mary's answer, as I have already mentioned, is in the most perfect conformity with the remaining correspondence, and contains a number of particulars which nobody could know who was not most intimately acquainted with her wishes, position, intrigues, &c.; in a word, it bears in itself every mark of

* Cod. Harl., 4649, p. 46.

authenticity to convince all unprejudiced persons. After minute directions, counsels, communications from her papers, &c., she says:—"Affairs being thus prepared and in readiness, both without and within the realm, then it shall be time to set the six gentlemen at work, to accomplish their design of releasing me. And assure yourself and the gentlemen above named of all that shall be requisite on my part for the entire execution of your good will."

I may here observe that the expressions are chosen with great prudence and caution, and by no means as a forger would have done who sought and had need of clear proofs. Let us now see the result of other testimonies.

Babington acknowledged both the letters and the ciphers with which he and Mary had written them*. The same may be said of Nau and Curl, according to their own signatures, which are certified by Elizabeth's counsellors.

On the 3rd of September Nau demanded his liberation, and affirmed his own innocence and that of Mary†. On the 6th of September, on the contrary, he confessed, in the presence of Burghley, Hatton, Howard, &c., that the letters to Babington were genuine, and originated with Queen Mary. He added, "I wrote them from a minute in the queen's hand-writing‡. Her majesty does not permit important and secret letters to be written anywhere but in her cabinet, and every one is sealed in her presence. She reads over all the letters be-

* Queen Mary, vol. vii. p. 337. † Ibid., vol. vi.

‡ Ibid., vol. viii. This does not mean a decree which Nau enlarged and forwarded, but the translating into English, and putting into cypher.

fore they are put into cypher and translated, which is done by Curl, as was the case with the letter to Babington."

In a more detailed confession of Nau, addressed to Elizabeth*, he speaks of the relations of Mary to Scotland, France, and Spain, and then proceeds. "This cursed letter to Babington unhappily arrived just at the moment when the queen was extremely angry (*sur le très grief ressentiment*) at finding herself separated from her son, neglected in the treaty concluded with him, without her participation, and, as she was informed, deprived of her right of succession to the English throne. She was dissatisfied at the refusal of all her requests for necessary comforts, and at seeing her state daily becoming worse and her liberty more restricted, the particulars of which appear in the letter which she caused to be written. She likewise considered, as she says, that if the King of Spain made war, or if troubles should break out in England, (even in case she should have taken no part in them,) she would have to bear the blame, and be in danger from her enemies. Seeing therefore that flight was offered and proposed to her, she had been induced to accept it, and in consequence to give an account of the foreign aid, without interfering in the third point, which was spoken of in terms which she did not think herself obliged to disclose†, for the thing was not desired, intended, proposed, or carried into effect by her. It is certainly true that Babington wrote to her concerning it in that letter, as a subject en-

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

† Two words in this place are scarcely legible, but I have no doubt of the meaning.

tirely new, of which she had never heard. The first letter which the queen wrote to him was word for word according to a minute which Morgan sent her, at the same time informing the queen that Babington was very much dissatisfied that she had been so long without writing to him, or employing him, which makes him believe that she disdains his services, and does not think much of him; and I would venture to take it upon my conscience to say that the said letter had not yet been received by Babington when he wrote his long letter*."

I may here be permitted immediately to correct two essential errors.

First, in a letter from Burghley to Hatton, dated September 4th, the former says, "That they were embarrassed to prove Mary's guilt, because Nau and Curl would not confess anything." Hence some would infer that all the testimonies and depositions against Mary were feigned and forged. It only follows, however, (from what we know from other sources,)

A. That Nau and Curl began with denying, but after the discovery of their papers, ciphers, &c., confessed.

B. That Burghley and the English privy counsellors were upright and honourable men; for if they were disposed to concoct false documents, the

* According to a statement of Babington (Queen Mary, vol. vi.), he did not receive Mary's first letter, having changed his place of abode, till the 29th of July, and would have written his long letter, as Nau conjectures, before the receipt of it. For that that letter was not written till the 3rd of August is indeed possible, but by no means probable, if we compare Mary's correspondence with the ambassador, and Nau's confession and other proofs.

denials of the secretaries would not have caused them the slightest embarrassment.

This remark of Burghley therefore contains nothing new or important, but proves the contrary of what was attempted to be deduced from it.

Secondly, the assertion that Nau and Curl calumniated their mistress is equally erroneous. At least it would be quite inexplicable in this case how King James could suffer them to remain unpunished, and Duke Henry of Loraine, on the 16th of October, 1607, could recommend Nau to the ambassador Glasgow* for the long and faithful services which he had rendered Mary. We shall see in the sequel how Nau afterwards attempted to represent the matter in a memoir written in his justification.

A later declaration of Curl is to the following effect† :—"I received all the letters written by the queen's own hand to the Spanish ambassador, and have never heard that any other person was initiated into the secret negotiations with Spain. After the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, all her majesty's papers were taken away, and I, with Nau and Pasquier, arrested and brought to London. Here I was several times interrogated before the privy council respecting the share I had had in all these things. They showed me the letters of my sovereign to Lord Paget, Charles Paget, Sir F. R. Inglefield, all written with my own hand, (which I could not deny,) in which she disclosed to these gentlemen her intentions respecting the proposed plan, and from which it clearly appeared that she touched,

* Cod. Harl., 7004.

† Cod. 4647, with the superscription, *Extraits d'une déclaration de Curle écrite et signée de sa main en l'acte du 6me d'Août*, 1587.

in her correspondence, upon almost all the points on which she answered Babington. Besides this, two letters were shown me which I wrote in ciphers, and the right deciphering in two alphabets which were used between him and the queen. The counter alphabet was found among her papers. I was obliged to acknowledge the copy of the first of those letters, written by my own hand, which I accordingly did, and also a true copy of Babington's principal letter to her majesty, all confirmed by his confession and signature. Likewise, afterwards, the postscript of that letter of Babington to Nau, in which he asks his opinion of one Powley, (subsequently acknowledged by Mr. Nau,) to which I answered in the name of the latter. Nau's answer (which only said that Babington should not trust Powley) written by me, was found among the other papers, as well as letters to and from the persons who had charge of the correspondence from which the receipt of Babington's letters and the convey of the answers appeared. With such various and irrefragable proofs I could not by any means deny, but it behoved me at length, from very important considerations, to confess that I had deciphered Babington's letters to her majesty, and by her command received through Mr. Nau the answers to them, after she had read and looked through it in my presence. This answer I translated into English, and after her majesty had looked over it, put it into cipher as it was sent to Babington. In testimony whereof I have signed the present with my own hand.

"G. CURLL (or CURL)."

Then follows, "I certify on my honour and life that the preceding copies are taken by me word for

word from the original, which I promise to show whenever it may be necessary.

"*Paris, 12th of March,* 1605. "NAU."

In reference to Curl's confession and the new demands which he made to Walsingham, the latter replied*, "Curle, you do greatly charge me with my promise, and forget the favour you have received through my mediation. Yet our (your) own conscience and judgment weighing the foulness of your offence, ought to tell you that the favour you have already received is extraordinary; that what you have confessed is no more than what you saw no reason to deny, when you found yourself charged by your fellow Nau. I have and will perform my promise, so far as shall lie in me. The favour is too great from her majesty; I can but be a mediator, and therein I shall have the better ground to deal for you, when you shall lay yourself so open, as her majesty may see in you remorse for that which is past, and a disposition to deserve her favour, by acquainting her of your knowledge of such things as may in any ways concern her estate. Pray God to give you grace to take profit of this advice at the council."

Before this, on the 8th of September, Burghley wrote to Walsingham†. "Nau offered on Tuesday to have opened much, and instead thereof he has only written to have a pardon, as yesterday, because it was the queen's birthday. I do send to Mr. Mills to challenge him, and to warn him to be sent to the Tower, if he do not otherwise acquit himself

* In September, 1586. Cod. Harl., 4646.
† Bibl. Cotton. Caligula, C. ix.

of his promise. I think Curl will be more open, and yet Nau has evidently confessed by his handwriting to have written by the queen's inditing and her own minute, the long letter to Babington. But he would qualify his mistress's fault, in Babington's provoking her thereto, and that Morgan provoked her to renew her connection with Babington. Yours,

"BURLEIGH."

The two following letters show how the French ambassador Chateauneuf thought on this subject, and the part he took in it.

CHATEAUNEUF TO HENRY III.

"London, September 7, 1586*.

"Sire,—A few days ago I sent my secretary to you to inform you of the danger in which the Queen of Scotland is placed by the arrest of her two secretaries. The day before yesterday I wrote to the Lord Treasurer that Nau was your majesty's subject, and the servant of a sovereign princess, who, as your brother's widow, was under your special protection, and whom I was directed to serve in anything that might concern her. Burghley and Walsingham, to whom he communicated my letter, answered that Nau was a wicked man; that he and his mistress had contrived this conspiracy against the queen; a conspiracy so wicked and unhappy that Elizabeth was resolved to have justice done against Mary and her two secretaries (who had already confessed everything); that besides this, written proofs and letters of the Queen of Scotland and Nau had been found; that Elizabeth had three times saved the life of her adversary, and now received a very ill

* Raumer's Letters, ii., 182.

reward; also that the King of Spain and Bernardin de Mendoza had been concerned in the conspiracy, whose letters were found among Nau's papers.

"Elizabeth, they said, intended to communicate everything to me, and to send a nobleman to your majesty with all the charges and documents of the proceedings, and that when you had read them all, you would no longer request her to pardon the Queen of Scotland; that a letter was likewise found among the papers, in which she warns her adherents not to trust me with the conspiracy, with which I should, in that case, have acquainted your majesty.

"This, Sire, is briefly what they told me, from which your majesty may perceive in what situation the affairs of the Queen of Scotland at present stand. Not that I would affirm that they will do all that they say, (for if they intended to do it, they would hardly talk of it,) but at least it will not be owing to Walsingham if they do not ill treat her. At all events, they will put her in so wretched a condition, that she can scarcely be worse off."

CHATEAUNEUF TO HENRY III.

"September 11, 1586*.

"The secretaries of the Queen of Scotland are still under arrest in Walsingham's house, to be interrogated. All their papers and memorandums are examined and deciphered in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. She has sent everything through a gentleman named Baillx (Baillie?) to the King of Scotland."

* Bibl. Roy., No. 9513. Lettres originales d'Etat, tome iii., fol. 347.

LETTER LIII.

Nau's Justification, written by himself.

Though Nau did not draw up his later defence till the 2nd of March, 1605, at a time when circumstances were greatly altered, and King James reigned in England, I will here give the substance* of it, before I relate the proceedings against Mary.

"I had no share in the Spanish plans; and when Babington's letter reached Mary, it developed a plan already complete, so that it was not necessary for her majesty to enter into a deliberation, or to take advice of me or of any other, &c. The main point however is, that I by no means betrayed my mistress to Queen Elizabeth or to her ministers. This will be easily shown by means of those members of the English privy council of that period who are still alive. I conjure them by the living God, to call on the king (James) to command them to state the truth, whether, from the moment that I first set foot in England, to the moment that I left it, I ever had any secret negotiation, intercourse, or understanding, with their queen or any other person, to the prejudice of my sovereign. They know that Elizabeth and the greater part of her counsellors looked upon me, at the time of those troubles, as the greatest enemy of my station that they had in Christendom; and they also made me feel it during my imprisonment; for when I had a weakness in the feet, and often suffered from other disorders, I could never obtain the assistance of French physicians and sur-

* Cod. Harl., 4649, p. 82.

geons; and it would be too long to enumerate other severities, indignities, and afflictions which I there endured.

"I may add further, and with truth, that Queen Elizabeth and her ministers were always of opinion that I had conscientiously and unalterably been devoted to my mistress; that they never ventured to have me sounded or tempted to the contrary*; I must therefore have been wholly possessed by the Devil if I had voluntarily plunged into such an abyss of treachery and ingratitude. But if my conscience and the duty I owed to my queen had not deterred me, what probability is there that (after having spent twelve of the best years of my life in constant care, labour, trouble, and exertion, in negotiations in almost every place in Christendom, in order that the queen might regain her liberty, obtain possession of the person of the king her son, and both preserve their rights to Great Britain) I should, when so near the port, have designed the wreck of the vessel, in which all my hopes, and such great hopes, were embarked, that I could not expect anything similar from any other quarter? Whoever considers what I might expect from the enemies of Mary will allow that I should have made a very poor exchange.

"Everybody knows that but for the intervention of the late king (Henry III.) I should have suffered death. To him and to the good friends whom I had about him I am indebted for my life; at least the most favourable opinion that was delivered about me in the English privy council was to confine me for life.

* Qu'ils n'ont jamais osé me faire sonder ni tenter au contraire, p. 83.

"If I am now asked whence I believe that the first discovery (of Babington's undertaking, &c.) came, I answer, I heard from two English noblemen, who had the chief direction of the most secret correspondence of her majesty* in this kingdom, that an Englishman named Powley and a clergyman, who lives in this city (qy. London?), and were concerned in the conspiracy, disclosed it to Walsingham, who had practised upon them and perhaps set them to work †. I know that Babington was warned to beware of that Powley, and, notwithstanding, made use of him in the most secret part of the whole affair."

Upon this Nau builds a conjecture, that an English nobleman (Leicester or Burghley) had contrived the whole plot, in order to ruin Mary; he himself knows nothing of it.

"The conspiracy," continues Nau, "was discovered, and the proofs founded, partly on letters, ciphers, representations, instructions, and other papers, which were seized in the apartments (among which there were some of her majesty‡); partly on the depositions, acknowledgments, and confessions of the persons examined. Afterwards, a similar recognition was made by others, besides me, of several letters and papers which were seized in the queen's cabinet, where they had been kept and preserved, contrary to my urgent remonstrances and advice. * * * * Notwithstanding all these discoveries, I for a long time refused to answer, and maintained

* I think that by her majesty, not Mary, but Elizabeth, is meant.

† Qui les avoit practiqués et par aventure mis en besogne.

‡ Ou ils s'en prouva (trouva?) aucunes de sa majesté.

that I was responsible only to the King of France. I remember that I was so obstinate as to deny my own hand-writing in the minute of a letter which I had given to Curl to translate into English, and which he had imprudently left, together with his translation, in the queen's cabinet. Mr. Walsingham was so incensed at my denying, that he rose from table and came up to me with much abuse and menace; nay, he several times held his fist at my face, for which the deceased treasurer, Lord Burghley, mildly reproved him (*le reprit doucement*). All this was known to many persons; I could not have invented it."

Nau further relates, that from the beginning to the end he had denied the guilt of Mary with respect to the chief accusation, and asserted the injustice of the sentence. "Upon this," he continues, "Walsingham was so moved that he rose and gave vent to his anger against me, several times repeating that it was shameful and wicked of me so to speak against my own conscience. Hereupon he caused some depositions and testimonies to be read, which (as he said) were made by the English who were accused, and some of her majesty's servants, in order to show me that the conspiracy was proved and certified. But I persisted in saying it was unjust, if upon such false accusations they condemned a queen, who was as much a sovereign as their own."

This, Nau says, was his last public declaration, which must be taken into consideration, and on that account he had not been confronted with Mary.

"If," continues Nau, "the letters, &c., which were found are objected to me, I can easily clear myself

in this respect, for I have never had anything of this kind about me, but all was kept for the greater safety in the queen's cabinet, and there found. I always urged the necessity of burning these writings, &c.; but the queen replied, 'They will not take that trouble*,' nor could she believe that her friends in the English council (and especially one of the most eminent, who had lately come to a good understanding with her) would ever suffer such an affront to be put upon her; besides, there would always be time to burn them."

In conclusion, Nau repeats that he is ready to appear before the King of England, and to communicate to him other things that have hitherto been kept secret.

We may here be permitted to make some remarks upon this extract from his prolix defence:—

First. There are neither arguments nor proofs to show that Nau was gained by the English ministry, or was in any way traitorous to his sovereign; on the contrary, he excused or defended her, directly or indirectly, as far, nay, sometimes farther, than was consistent with reason.

Secondly. He allows that Mary had received the long letter from Babington; he does not indeed directly mention her answer, but on comparing all the circumstances, it appears that the minute given to Curl to translate, and by him inconsiderately preserved, together with the translation, can be no other than that answer of Mary's.

Thirdly. Nau very naturally brings forward in this defence his bold denial at the beginning, and

* Probably to seize them.

makes a merit of it. On the other hand, he omits that, compelled by the evidence of the depositions and hand-writing, he could no longer deny his own writing, but acknowledged, verbally and in writing, before many witnesses and eminent men, who had taken their oath, both Babington's letter and Mary's answer. The ciphers found in Nau's possession agreed with the letters that were seized; nor did Mary ever allege any doubt respecting the signatures of Nau and Curl. Neither of them had spoken falsely of her.

Fourthly. Notwithstanding this, Nau might maintain that the sentence against Mary was unjust, inasmuch as he looked upon her as a sovereign, raised above all responsibility. In like manner, no blame attached to him for the preservation of those papers; only it does not follow that their contents were innocent.

Fifthly. Nau does not venture to say a syllable in support of the vague conjecture, that the whole conspiracy might have been contrived by the English ministers. He knew better the real state of the case, and was forced to acquit them of the accusation of having made equivocal proposals to him. It is very natural that Walsingham should be incensed at Nau's denial of the truth; but on this occasion, too, Burghley again manifests the composure and moderation which some persons would willingly deny him; yet, but for the intercession of France, the two secretaries would probably have been treated with more rigour. Mary's hopes, founded on her connection with the English privy counsellors, proved (as so often happens) a mere delusion.

Sixthly. Nau's justification might indeed excul-

pate himself, but not Mary, against whom there were other proofs. Accordingly, King James never instituted any further inquiry. Nau could not be blamed for acknowledging the truth, as the documents testified; his general assertions of Mary's innocence were, on the other hand, insignificant, and could not lead to any new results.

LETTER LIV.

Mary's Money—Walsingham's Complaint—Beale's Opinion—Elizabeth to Mary—Instructions to Burghley and Walsingham—Proceedings against Mary.

Having extracted from Nau's subsequent defence what is most essential for explanation, I return to my communications, according to the order of time.

On the 10th of December, 1586, Paulet made a report from Chartley to Walsingham, on the discharge of Mary's superfluous servants and the sequestration of her money *. "I went," he says, "with Richard Bajol to the queen; we found her in her bed, troubled in her old manner, with a defluxion fallen down to the side of her neck, and bereft of the use of one of her hands: unto whom I declared, that upon occasion of her former practices, doubting lest she should persist therein by corrupting under-hand some bad members of the state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to be answerable for it when required, advising her to deliver the said money to me with quickness. After many denials, many exclamations, and other words

* Cod. Harl., 4659.

against you (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with this affirmation, that her majesty might have her body, but would never have her heart; refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the door, whereupon she yielded, and sent, causing the door to be opened. I found therein the coffers mentioned in Mr. Wade's note, five rolls containing 5000 French crowns, and her other bags, whereof the one had in gold 204*l.* 10*s.*, and the other had —*l.* in silver; which bag of silver was (*?) to her, affirming that she had no more money in the house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Wade's note mentions five rolls left in Curl's chamber, wherein no doubt he was mistaken, for we found but two, and in cash 1000 crowns, which was the queen's gift to Curl's wife for her marriage. * * There is found in Nau's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain of gold, worth by estimate 100*l.*; in money, in one bag, 900*l.*; in another, 200*l.*; in a third, 59*l.*; and in a purse, 286*l.* 18*s.*, &c. &c."

Notwithstanding the rigour and promptness which seemed to be employed, many persons were not satisfied with the composure and indifference which Elizabeth manifested after the first alarm was allayed. At least Walsingham wrote, on the 18th of September†,—"The whole course of these proceedings shows that she has no power to do things in season, as may work her security, and therefore we must prepare ourselves for the worst. Our sins do

* Illegible in original: probably given, or left.

† Cod. Harl., 6994. The letter, so far as it speaks of the personal security of the queen, seems to belong to the year 1586. If we suppose it to be of 1587, it relates, not to Mary, but to the Spaniards.

deserve it, especially our unthankfulness for the great and singular benefits it hath pleased God to bless this land withal."

There were many opinions and doubts whether, or in what manner, proceedings should be instituted against Mary. In an opinion given on this subject by Robert Beale, a lawyer, dated the 25th September, 1586, he says*—"Concerning the manner of dealing with her, I think it convenient she should be rather charged in writing than in speech, and that the solicitor and attorney only use speeches *nomine communi* of all the council; and that she should be charged on two points, the actions with Norfolk, and the conspiration now. For I take it that she is not yet discharged of the first, the favour which has been showed her being rather a merciful suspension of her majesty, than a pardon or acquittal. Besides, new proofs of her guilt have since been discovered, which may be made use of.

"Her answer, I doubt not, will be, as in former times, by protestations, when the chancellor and others were sent to her, that she is a free princess. I have often heard her say, that she cannot be reputed but as a prisoner of war, and so presupposes that she may do anything for her liberty and escape. For the first, the words of protestation cannot be taken from her, yet the council may esteem of them as shall please them, as the parliament did in anno 13, in holding her guilty, notwithstanding her protests, and enacting, that in a case afterwards she should offend, she should be indicted and committed as the wife of a peer of the realm, and have no other

* Cod. Harl., 4646.

privilege. So the manner of proceeding and proof to be according to the laws of the realm, and not according to foreign laws, or men's fantasies or contentions, to draw in question the prerogative and authority of the law of England, which would be a very dangerous matter in this and other cases that may fall out. She is not an independent queen, but subject to the laws, and from these laws she will derive advantage or suffer injury according to her behaviour; nor has she, as a prisoner of war, any right to excite conspiracies."

On the 6th of October Elizabeth caused a letter to be written to Mary, of the following tenour*:—

"Whereas we are given to understand that you, to our great and inexpressible grief (as one void of all remorse or conscience) pretend with great professions not to be in any sort privy or assenting to any attempt against our state or person; forasmuch as we find, by clear and most evident proof, that the contrary will be verified and maintained against you, we have found it therefore expedient to send unto you divers of our chief and most ancient noblemen of this our realm, together with certain of our privy council, as also some of our principal judges, to charge you both with the privity and assent to that most horrible and unnatural attempt. And to the end you may have no just cause (living as you do within our protection, and therefore subject to the laws of our realm, and to such a trial as by us shall be thought most agreeable to our laws,) to take exception to the manner of our proceeding, we have made choice of the chief honourable persons

* Cod. Harl., 4063, vol. ii.

to be used in this service; having for that purpose authorized them by our commission under our great seal to proceed therein. And therefore we do both require and advise you to give credit and make answer to that which the said honourable persons so authorized by us, shall from time to time, during their abode there, object or deliver unto you in our name, as if it were ourself."

On the 7th of October* Elizabeth gave Burghley and Walsingham directions as to the course of the investigation: "If Mary" (say the instructions) "wishes to negociate more confidentially with some than with all, this is to be permitted; as many persons may be troublesome through curiosity, or attempt to force themselves in with bad intentions, they are to decide who are to be admitted to the examinations; as also whether in case she desires to hear her servants Nau, Curl, and Parker personally, to testify those things they have otherwise confessed against her, it shall be necessary to have them there, or to proceed otherwise without them: which point we have thought meet to be remembered to you."

It is well known that there was no confrontation of Mary with her servants, because this was not usual at that time in proceedings of this nature; further, because the commissioners had already heard the depositions; and lastly, perhaps, because it was apprehended that Mary herself would then acknowledge nothing, and only endeavour to induce the witnesses to recant.

On the 8th of October Davison wrote to Burghley on the same subject†:—"The lords ought to consider

* Cod. 4663, vol. ii. Queen Mary, vol. vi. † Cod. Harl., 290.

whether, in case she desires her servants Nau, Curl, and Parker, personally, to testify those things they have here confessed against her, your lordships shall think it necessary to have them present; though, in her own opinion, it seems a matter needless. It is also to be taken into consideration whether, in this case, (where facts alone are concerned,) Queen Mary should be allowed to have counsel." Davison also invites the Lord Treasurer to advise Queen Elizabeth in these times to be more circumspect with her person.

On the 12th of October Elizabeth* gave orders that the lords should indeed proceed by verdict, but not pronounce till they had made a complete report, or had received new instructions. Among the commissioners were the Chancellor Bromley; the Lord Treasurer Burghley; Earls Oxford, Shrewsbury, Kent, Pembroke, Lincoln, Derby, Rutland, Worcester, Northumberland, Warwick; Lords Morlay, Stafford, Gray, Lumley, Sturton, Sandos, Wentworth, Mordaunt, Crompton, &c.; and the following knights, Montague, Mildmay, Sadler, Hatton, Walsingham, Wray, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, besides some other judges, lawyers, doctors, and notaries.

On the 15th of October Burghley wrote to Davison†:—"Mary has only denied the accusations. Her intention was to move pity by long artificial speeches, to lay all blame upon the queen's majesty, or rather upon the counsel, that all the troubles past did ensue; avowing her reasonable offers and our re-

* Cod. 4663, vol. ii.

† Bibl. Cotton. Caligula., C. ix, p. 433.

fusals. And in these her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons, out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not the advantage she looked for. And as I am assured the auditory did find her case not pitiable, and her allegations untrue."

On the 27th of October Walsingham writes* to the Earl of Strafford, in Paris, respecting the first interrogatories at Fotheringay:—"And after we had heard all that she could say, it was thought convenient, in respect the matter touched a person of her quality, to dismiss the assembly then, and to adjourn the commission until the 26th, to the end, in the mean time, the matter might be more advisedly and deliberately considered of. On which day the commissioners met again in the Star Chamber, and there, after a repetition made by the queen's learned counsel of that which had passed before in this matter, the Scotch queen's two secretaries were brought forth before the commissioners, and openly affirmed as much *vivâ voce* as they had before deposed in writing; which brought a great satisfaction to all the commissioners, insomuch that, albeit some of them, as you know, stood well affected to her, yet, considering the plainness and evidence of the proof, every one of them gave their sentence against her, finding her not only accessory and privy to the conspiracy, but also an imaginer and compasser of her majesty's destruction."

* Bibl. Cotton. Galba., vol. vi.

LETTER LV.

Trial of Mary.

Though, properly speaking, everything respecting the trial of Mary is already known, yet the extracts which I have communicated will, I think, be interesting to you, and I therefore venture to subjoin from other accounts the following particulars.

At the beginning—as is stated among other particulars in one report*—Mary denied that she had ever written to Babington, or received a letter from him. But when the copies were soon afterwards laid before her, she plainly confessed that she had caused the letter in question to be written and forwarded †.

Nau confessed everything, and also declared that his confession was given voluntarily, and without any hope of reward. He said he did this with the greater reluctance, because it was against his queen and mistress; but that an oath was more binding, and compelled him to tell the truth. Curl acted in the same manner.

Another report says‡, "Babington made a confession written with his own hand, and delivered to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chamberlain, voluntarily and frankly, before he was committed to the Tower." It appeared from this confession that he and Mary had had a correspondence

* Cod. Harl., 4649, p. 114.

† It is possible that only the first letter is here meant, but not probable; because the first proved nothing, and everything depended upon the second.

‡ Cod., 447, p. 321.

for two years, which had been interrupted for a time, till July, 1586; that Mary had blamed him for this in one letter, which had been delivered to him by an unknown boy. "He set down at large what conferences passed between B. (Ballard?) and him, and the whole plot of conspiracy for the murder of Elizabeth, and deliverance of Mary. He declared further, that he did write a letter to the Queen of Scotland touching every particular of this plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy. She answered twenty or thirty days (after) in the same cipher by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger. The tenour of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of the said declaration with the copies of the said letters it appeared. Babington in all particular points prayed her direction; for instance, that six noble gentlemen would undertake that tragical execution.

"Ballard's, Tichburn's, and Dun's depositions agreed with the above.

"Babington then signed the copies of the letters, in doing which he was so accurate that he struck out and corrected some words that were wrong written.

"Then was read a copy of the Queen of Scots letter to Babington; she commended his zeal and entire affection towards her. Many particulars were then spoken of—foreign troops, money, command, deliverance, and by what manner the six gentlemen did deliberate to proceed. When everything in and out of the kingdom should be duly prepared, she said that then it shall be time to set the six gentlemen to work, taking order, upon the accomplishment

of their design, that she should be suddenly transported from the place of her restraint, and placed at the head of the troops, before her keeper received intelligence and hindered her escape. She refers to Babington to assure the gentlemen above-mentioned of all that shall be required of her part for the entire execution of her good will.

"When Mary denied, the proofs of her guilt were adduced:—

"1. The ciphers of Mary and Babington are the same.

"2. The conspirators persisted to their deaths in their depositions.

"3. The voluntary confessions of Nau and Curl agreed with them.

"4. Among Nau's papers there is a draught of Mary's answer, acknowledged by him to be genuine, which contains all the principal points of it.

"5. Other letters of Mary do not, indeed, expressly mention the murder of Elizabeth, but refer to the contents of Babington's letter, and prove that she was acquainted with it.

"6. She promises Babington to write certain letters, and these letters have been found.

"7. She confesses that she wished and encouraged an insurrection in the kingdom, and the landing of foreign troops; but an invasion and the destruction of her majesty are so linked together that they cannot be singled.

"8. She wrote to Charles Paget, that the surest way to rid himself (Philip?) of Elizabeth's malice was by purging the spring of that malicious humour.

"9. She made the Pope and the King of Spain offers of such a nature that England would have

been entirely dependent upon them, nay, would have been ruined.

"10. Curl warned her in vain against engaging in such enterprizes.

"11. All the original draughts of the letters are found; except that of the letter to Babington burnt by Curl by her orders; but, on the other hand, Nau's MS. proves the total contents.

"12. Nobody maintained at that time the entire spuriousness of the letters, or the falsehood of the deciphering. Philips, to whom this business was confided, asserted in the sequel to King James that he had only done his duty *; nor did anybody think at that time of calling him to account.

"13. Had not all these proofs been forthcoming, nobody would have thought of accusing the innocent Mary."

Thus much from the reports relative to the trial and the proofs.

On the 18th of October Chateauneuf wrote to Queen Elizabeth †, requesting her to treat Mary in a liberal and gentle manner, to consider that she was a queen, had been twenty years a prisoner, was ignorant of the legal forms, &c. On the 30th of October Chateauneuf transmitted the following report to Henry III.:—

"The queen sent the members of her counsel and thirty lords to Fotheringay to interrogate the Queen of Scotland. They arrived on Tuesday, the 21st of the month, but did not see the queen on Wednesday because she was ill. On Thursday she repaired to

* Scotch loose papers in the State Paper Office, vol. iii.

† Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. p. 184.

the hall fitted up for the purpose, where a canopy and seat for Queen Elizabeth were placed, and next to it a chair for Mary. At this she was angry, as I am told, and said, she had a right to sit under a canopy, since she had been married to a King of France. Then casting her eyes upon the assembly, and seeing so many lawyers, she said, 'I see here many lords of council, but none for me.'

"The Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Attorney-General then approached her, and set forth how they had received a commission from Queen Elizabeth to interrogate her respecting certain letters written by her to Babington and other conspirators, according to which it was intended to kill the queen, and to seize upon the kingdom. She refused to answer on that day, and said she was a queen, that she recognized no superior upon earth, and would answer nobody but the queen herself. To this speech she added some other angry expressions.

"The lords made a report of this matter to Elizabeth, who immediately wrote to Queen Mary a letter, which is word for word as follows:—

"'You have in various ways and manners attempted to take my life, and to bring my kingdom to destruction by bloodshed. I have never proceeded so harshly against you, but have, on the contrary, protected and maintained you like myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and all made manifest. Yet it is my will that you answer the nobles and peers of the kingdom as if I were myself present. I therefore require, charge, and command that you make answer, for I have been well informed

of your arrogance. Act plainly without reserve, and you will the sooner be able to obtain favour of me.

"'ELIZABETH.'

"This letter, which was without the subscription of cousin or sister, arrived on Friday morning; but Mary persisted in declaring that she would not answer the lords. She would, however, tell them, that she had endeavoured by every means to gain her liberty, and would do so as long as she lived; but she had never plotted against the life of the queen, or had any connexion with Babington and the others for this purpose, but merely for her own liberation. If Elizabeth questioned her, she would tell the truth; and they were not to look upon this as a formal answer, which she would not give without the advice of the King of France, under whose protection she was.

"The Lord Treasurer hereupon requesting her to look at some letters written with her own hand, she became rather angry, and said, 'Here are several of my enemies present, who have brewed this for me' (*brassé*). She even went so far as to utter many bitter expressions, and to say, 'I have indeed had correspondence with many sovereigns respecting my deliverance*, and even wished that a foreign force might come into this kingdom for that purpose.' All she said was taken down in writing, read out, and signed by all the gentlemen present, &c.

* Burghley writes on the 8th of September, 1586, to Walsingham: "Nau hath amply confessed by his hand-writing to have written by the queen's endityng and her own minut that long lettre to Babyngton, but he wold qualify his maistris's fault, in that Babyngton provoked her therto, and Morgan prevaled her to renew her intelligence with Babyngton."—*Ellis Letters*, vol. iii. p. 5.

"P.S.—Queen Mary has said that she has sought by every means, only not by any plots against the life of Queen Elizabeth, to regain her liberty. That to free herself she has desired to bring a foreign force into this country, and for this purpose has come to an understanding with Babington and the other conspirators. This one fact condemns her, so that all the noblemen who were there will assemble on Monday next, the 3rd of November, and, as I know from good authority, will condemn her, and declare her deserving of death."

CHATEAUNEUF TO HENRY III.

"November 5, 1586.

"Yesterday, Tuesday morning, the lords assembled in the Star Chamber, where they remained till five in the afternoon. They caused the secretaries Nau and Curl to be three times brought before them and interrogated. Hereupon they unanimously declared Queen Mary guilty, and convicted of that conspiracy against the state of the queen."

LETTER LVI.

Behaviour of James.

On the important question, in what light King James considered the fate of his mother, and how he conducted himself, I extract the following particulars.

In a letter of the 17th of September, 1586*, to Mr. Gray, it is said,—"It will be in vain to move James any further in it, because it is contrary to the

* Scotch Corres., vol. xix.

ties of nature, and *bonos mores*, yet you may with good reason persuade him that he make no mediation for her, and do not oppose the further progress of the proceedings."

On the 4th of October the French ambassador, Courcelles, writes from Scotland*:—"The king answered me, he loved his mother as much as nature and duty commanded, but he could not like her conduct (*conditions*), and knew very well that she had no more goodwill towards him than towards the Queen of England; that he had seen with his own eyes a letter which she wrote to Mr. Fontenay before his departure from Scotland, and in which she gave him her word, that if he, James, did not submit to her will, and follow her advice, he should be content with the lordship of Darby, which was all that came to him from his father. That, besides this, he had seen other letters in her handwriting which proved her ill-will towards him. Lastly, that she had made frequent attempts to appoint a regent in Scotland, and to deprive him of the throne."

On the 21st of November King Henry III. wrote to Courcelles†:—

"You shall set forth to the King of Scotland the arguments in favour of Mary; exhort him by all means to take his mother's part; tell him from me that as for so doing he will be highly commended by all other kings and princes; he may, on the other hand, be assured that if he fails he will draw upon himself the greatest reproaches, and very possibly considerable prejudice."

* Bibl. Cot. Calig., C. ix. p. 415.

† Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. pp. 188-193.

MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES TO M. DE CHATEAUNEUF, IN LONDON.

"November 30, 1586.

"King James promises to intercede for his mother through his ambassador Kit, an honest man, but a little Englishman" (*un petit Anglais*).

M. DE COURCELLES TO HENRY III.

"November 30, 1586.

"King James told me that the fate (*le fait*) of the queen his mother was the most strange that ever was heard of, and that there was nothing like it since the creation of the world; that he had written with his own hand to Elizabeth, to four or five of the most distinguished men in England, and also to Walsingham, and had told the latter to desist from his bad offices, and not to meddle any more in this matter, otherwise he would do him some displeasure, for which he would be sorry †.

"But several lords and great men are dissatisfied that he has sent Kit, a man of so little importance, and a pensionary of England. They say, that in an affair of such consequence, in which the life of his mother is concerned, which ought to be as dear to him as his own, might he not have found in his kingdom some other who would have considered the mission as an honour, and would have devoted their lives and property to it? if it had been necessary, offering, too, to undertake the journey at their own expense? This leads them to imagine that there is some secret understanding with the Queen of England, in which they are further confirmed, because the instructions for Kit were drawn up by the king,

* Bibl. Col. Calig., C. ix. fol. 445. † Scotch Corres., vol. xix.

Lethington, and Gray, without being communicated to any of the others."

On the 23rd of December, King Henry, writing to Courcelles, praises King James; he says that it does him the highest honour that he sends ambassadors to London to intervene with energy for his mother. There is also a spirited letter of James in her favour, but without date or address.

On the 31st of December, Courcelles reports to Henry III.*:—

"SIRE,—Since the 30th of November, when I last had the honour to write to your majesty, the King of Scotland has received information that the English parliament have decided that the death of his mother is the only means to secure the life of the Queen of England. In order to dissuade her from following this advice, James resolved immediately to send the Earl of Bothwell, and Messrs. Gray and Robert Melvil to London, and obtained through his ambassadors English passports for the two latter, but for certain reasons, not for the first. Several persons believe that this refusal has been occasioned by the intrigues and artifices of Gray and Archibald Douglas, who desire to put out of the way the Earl of Bothwell, as an impetuous and frank man, devoted to the Queen of Scotland; if he had even been made acquainted with any particulars of the bad conduct of which they accuse her, he would, however, have shown himself as her friend.

"The King of Scotland does not seem to have much at heart the embassy in his mother's favour,

* Raumer's Letters, vol. ii. p. 196.

which he intended to send so promptly, and to think a passport for two persons, Gray and Melvil, to be sufficient. Their instructions were drawn up by Lethington and referred, in the first instance, to the great friendship which had subsisted between the King and the Queen of England. In consideration of this, and in conformity with her natural clemency and goodness, for which she is celebrated in all Christendom, he trusts that she will not sully her reputation by the death of Queen Mary, his mother, her near relation, of the same blood and the same sex as herself. The king's honour will not allow him to forsake her, or to consent that she should be executed to gratify the desires of her enemies, who unjustly persecute her; that Elizabeth's life would, besides, be less secured by Mary's death than by her preservation. He therefore most earnestly begged her to set her at liberty on giving hostages, and upon conditions which should afford sufficient security. That he would engage that she should begin no innovations, nor change anything in his state; but if this was not acceptable to Elizabeth, Mary should be banished to some other country, respecting which the Scotch envoys might confer with the French, and in general act in concert.

"But if Queen Elizabeth and her council will not agree to this, they should endeavour to bring about that Mary should be for ever detained a prisoner, and surrounded and guarded by persons who might be entirely depended upon, so that it should be impossible for her to have any connection with others. That for this end he was ready, with his mother, to make solemn promises, and, with herself, to agree

that in case of violating these conditions, she should be judged, not as a queen, but as Elizabeth's subject.

"In order to give more weight to these instructions, James caused them to be read in parliament, and invited the lords to give their opinion of them. Hereupon the Earls of Hamilton, Annan, Bothwell and others, observed that, in their opinion, it would not be improper to add that, if Elizabeth should proceed further against his mother, the king would declare war; at least they thought that some threats would be more likely to restrain the insolence of the enemy than many entreaties. They also desired to strike out some passages towards the conclusion of the instructions, because they were contrary to the dignity and honour of the king, and such that his mother herself would not give her assent to them, even at the last extremity. The king answered, 'The time is not fitting for this; the state of my affairs does not permit me to threaten the Queen of England, who is now a very powerful princess. The last article must also remain unchanged, as a means whereby the life of my mother may be saved.'

"Upon this Lord Herries said to him, 'Do not be offended if I affirm that from the beginning we have shown ourselves too remiss in interceding for the queen, which has given her enemies occasion to proceed so far against her.' The king, however, answered angrily, 'Though I am not bound to give to my subjects an account of my actions, I will have every one know that if I did not speak earlier of the liberation of the queen my mother, the reason was that she herself forbad me to do so, and I will

not render services to an ungrateful person. As a proof how entirely I have done my duty towards her on all occasions, our correspondence, since my accession to the throne, shall be deposited in the highest court of this kingdom and copied.' With respect to the instructions, they might add or take away what they pleased, but as the object was to save the queen's life, he solemnly declared that if she should suffer death, her blood should be upon all their heads, and not upon his.

"When they saw him so firm in his opinion none of them attempted to answer; many, too, concluded that he must be advised that this was the only means to save his mother. Perhaps he had received intimations from England to this effect, and even Elizabeth was informed of it. At all events the king will endeavour to derive advantages for himself. As he had positively declared that he would not commence war with England, except in case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession to the throne, the partisans of England, by whom he was surrounded, took fresh courage. He trusts to his dexterity for being able to dissuade Elizabeth and her counsellors from taking violent measures against his mother; and the former (the English) think that, however disagreeable her death may be to him, they shall be able, by their influence and other means, which time will afford, to excuse the action and pacify him.

"This is the more plausible, as Lord Gray confessed to King James that he had written to secretary Walsingham and others in England, suggesting to them not to have Mary executed publicly, but to put her out of the way by poison. Gray was the

less able to deny this, as these letters had come to the knowledge of some noblemen, who threatened him with death in case any injury should be done to Mary. This, as some believe, has induced him to be the more eager to undertake the journey to England, and to promise the king to set everything in motion in his mother's favour. He confirmed this to me on his departure, when I called on him and Melvil to act in concert with Messrs. de Bellievre and Chateauneuf. He hopes to atone for his error, and to efface the suspicion which has been conceived of him. Besides, in the event of Queen Mary's death, he will be safer at the first moment in England than here, where he would scarcely be able to resist the effect of the first violent impression that it would cause."

LETTER LVII.

Reports relative to Mary—Mary to the Duke of Guise—Her Condemnation—Mary to Elizabeth.

It appears from the preceding extracts that King James was by no means deficient in natural affection for his mother, but that he was desirous only of her deliverance from extreme danger, and by no means of her restoration to liberty. Neither was he inclined to proceed so far with his negotiations or measures as to run the risk of a breach with Elizabeth. Lastly, most of his envoys were less disposed than himself seriously to exert themselves in favour of Mary, whom they hated.

I now return to her. On the 24th of October Paulet writes to Walsingham* :—"I see no change in Queen Mary from her former quietness and security. She is careful to have her chamber put in good order; desirous to have divers things provided for her own necessary use; expecting to have her money shortly rendered unto her; taking pleasure in trifling lies, and in the whole course of her speech free from grief of mind in outward appearance. After some unimportant conversation she said to me, that the histories make mention that this realm was used to blood. I answered, that if she would peruse the chronicles of Scotland, France, Spain, and Italy, she would find that this realm was far behind any other Christian nation in shedding of blood, although the same was often very necessary when danger and offence did arise. She was not willing to wade further in this matter; and, indeed, it was easy to see she had no meaning in this speech to lead to her own case, but did utter it by way of discourse, after her wonted manner." In the P.S. Paulet says, "She is utterly free of all fear of harm." On the 30th of October he writes that Mary is ill and confined to her bed, and on the 21st of November he observes:—"I deny that I have at any time left the lady in her passionate speeches, but I confess that I have left her often in her superfluous and idle speeches†."

Though Mary affected an appearance of tranquillity and confidence, she was well aware of the

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

† It is probable that Paulet had been directed not to suffer the passionate speeches of the queen to pass unnoticed.

magnitude of the danger that threatened her, as is manifest from her letter to the Duke of Guise, dated the 24th of December*.

"My good Cousin, who are more dear to me than anything else in the world, I bid you farewell, being on the point of being put to death by an unjust sentence, such as, God be praised, no person of our race, and much less one of my quality, ever yet suffered. But, my good cousin, praise God for it, for I was useless in this world, in the cause of God and of his church, situated as I was, and I hope that my death will testify my confidence in my faith, and my readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unhappy island. And though the executioner never yet dipped his hand in our bloods, do not, my friend, be ashamed of it, for the sentence passed by heretics and enemies to the church, who have no jurisdiction over me, a free queen, is profitable and honourable before God to the children of his church; for if I were attached to them, I should not receive the blow. All the members of our house have been persecuted by this sect. Witness, your good father, with whom I hope to be received into mercy by the Just Judge.

"I recommend to you my poor servants, the payment of my debts, and request you to found some annual mass for my soul; not at your expense, but in the manner which you will hear from my disconsolate servants, the witnesses of my last tragedy. May God bless you, your wife, children, and cousins; and, above all, our chief, my good brother and cousin,

* Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii., 189.

as well as all who belong to him. The blessing of God, such as I would give to my children, rest upon yours, whom I recommend to God no less than my own son, who is unhappy and deceived.

"You will receive some tokens from me, to remind you to have prayers put up for the soul of your poor cousin, who is deprived of all aid and counsel, except that of God, who gives me strength and courage to resist the many wolves that are howling after me. Glory be to God!

"Give credit especially to what will be told you by a person who will deliver to you a ruby ring in my name; for I am thoroughly convinced that the truth will be told you, respecting the commission I have given, especially with regard to my poor servants. I recommend this person to you for her openness and honesty, in order that she may obtain a good situation. I have chosen her because she is the least partial, and will most faithfully report what I have commanded. I beg you, however, not to let it transpire that she has said anything to you in private, for envy might injure her.

"I have suffered much within the last two years, and have been unable, for important reasons, to let you know. God be praised for all, and give you grace to persevere for life in the service of His church. Never may this honour depart from our family! May its members, both men and women, always be ready, setting aside all worldly considerations, to shed their blood in defence of the cause of the church! As for me, I consider myself as born, both from my father's and mother's side, to offer my blood, and I do not intend to degenerate from them. May Jesus, who was crucified for us, and all the

holy martyrs, make us worthy by their intercession to make a free will offering of our bodies to his glory.—*Fotheringay, Thursday, 24th of November.*

"With a view to humble me, they have ordered the canopy to be removed, and since then my keeper has come to offer to write to the queen, saying, that this had not been done by her command, but by the advice of some counsellors. I showed them, instead of my arms on that canopy, the cross of my Redeemer. You shall hear the whole conversation. They have been more mild since that time. Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend, Mary Queen of Scotland, Queen Dowager of France."

Meantime the two houses of parliament had confirmed the unanimous sentence of the judges upon Mary, and urged its execution*. The public notice of this affair, on the 4th of December†, excited the greatest joy, and though nothing is said in it of the execution which had been required, yet (with the exception of this one, unquestionably most important point) all was in fact settled and concluded.

Mary accordingly wrote to Elizabeth on the 19th of December‡:—"As I know you, more than any other, must have at heart the honour or dishonour of your blood, and of a queen, a king's daughter, I beg you, for the honour of Christ, to whose name all powers bow, to permit, after my enemies have glutted their thirst for my innocent blood, that my poor afflicted servants all together may remove my

* Raumer's Hist. of Europe, vol. ii. p. 558-562.

† Queen Mary, vol. vi. Cod. 290, p. 189, have the 4th of December. Perhaps the proclamation was drawn up on the 4th and published on the 6th, as it appears certainly to have been.

‡ Superscribed 'ex literis Mariæ,' but not quite complete.

body, to be interred in holy ground with those of my predecessors, which with the queen, my late mother, repose in France. And considering that in Scotland the bodies of the kings, my predecessors, have been insulted, and the churches pulled down and profaned, and that suffering in this country I cannot have a place with your ancestors, who are also mine; and besides, according to our religion, we consider it important to be buried in holy ground. And since I have been told that you will not, in any way, force my conscience contrary to my religion, and that you have even granted me a priest, I hope that you will not refuse me this last request; and at least allow a sepulchre to the body when it is separated from the soul, since while united they could never obtain liberty to live in tranquillity, and thereby procuring it to yourself, (en le vous procurant à vous même.) I do not, in any way, blame you before God, but may he, after my death, let you see the truth in all things!

"Fearing, as I do, the secret tyranny of some persons, I beg you not to permit the sentence to be executed upon me without your knowledge. Not from fear of the torment which I am very ready to suffer, but on account of the reports which, in the absence of witnesses above suspicion, might be spread respecting my death, as I know has been done in the case of others of different condition. To avoid which, I desire that my servants shall be spectators and witnesses of my death in the faith of my Saviour, and in obedience to his church; and that all together, removing my body as secretly as you please, they may withdraw without anything being taken from them of what I leave them at my

death, which is very little, for their faithful services. A jewel, which I received from you, I will send you with my last words, or rather, if you please, I again request you (in the name of Jesus, in consideration of our consanguinity, for the sake of Henry VII., your ancestor and mine, and for the honour of the dignity which we both hold, and of our common sex) that my petition may be granted. For the rest I think that you will have learnt that my canopy has been taken down in your name, though I was afterwards told that it was not by your commands, but by the direction of some privy counsellors. I praise God for this cruelty, which serves only to exercise malice and to mortify me, after my death has been resolved upon."

LETTER LVIII.

Intercession of Foreign Powers for Mary.

In proportion as Mary's danger increased, the intercessions of foreign powers, especially of France, in her favour, became more earnest. In December, 1586, Chateauneuf made the following report to Henry III.*:—

"With respect to Queen Mary, Elizabeth said, 'I have given the parliament several days' time to consider of the means by which I may be able to preserve her life without hazarding my own. Now, as the proposals that are made are not satisfactory, and no mode is to be found, I will not be cruel to

* Raumer's Letters from Paris, vol. ii. p. 193-208.

myself; and the King of France cannot think it reasonable that I, who am innocent, should die, and the guilty Queen of Scotland be saved.' After much discussion upon the subject, Elizabeth rose, and as we persisted in our entreaties, she said that she would give us an answer in a few days.

"On the following day we were informed that the sentence passed upon Mary had been made known by proclamation in London*, by which she was declared a traitoress, unworthy of succeeding to the throne, and guilty of death. This proclamation was attended by the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London. They immediately began ringing the bells, which continued for four-and-twenty hours (and this was done in the whole kingdom). Many bonfires were also lighted, for joy at the resolution which their queen had come to against the Queen of Scotland.

"This induced us to write to Queen Elizabeth a letter, of which a copy is inclosed, begging her, as all other means failed us, to postpone the execution of the sentence, that we might have time to learn what your majesty might say, represent, or do on this occasion. She sent us word that we should receive her answer on the following day through one of her privy counsellors. The day, however, passed, and we learnt nothing. This morning Mr. Oulle (?), one of the counsellors, came to us. After long speeches upon the reasons for which the sentence ought to be executed, he said, that, out of respect for your majesty, the queen would defer it for twelve days, without, however, binding

* This took place on the 6th of December, 1586.

herself to this term, if anything should be done against her in the interim, which might afford grounds for an alteration of that resolution.'

"The Scotch ambassador, who had made a similar request, received the same answer. They had told Queen Elizabeth that King James, if she suffered his mother to be executed, would renounce his friendship and all connection with England, and deliberate with his friends how he should proceed. Upon this Elizabeth became exceedingly angry.

"In such a wretched situation, in such great danger does the Queen of Scotland now find herself: from herself we have no news, as she is very strictly watched; they have left her only four women and two servants.

"The sentence of death was announced to her in the presence of Lord Buckhurst. We have not heard that she said anything else than that she did not believe that the queen, her sister, would deal so inhumanly with her. About the time of the public proclamation they removed the canopy from her chamber, hung the walls and beds with black, and sent her a clergyman to console her. She, however, refused to admit him, and declared that whatever may happen she will die a Catholic."

On the 6th of January, 1587, Messrs. Bellièvre and Chateauneuf wrote to Queen Elizabeth:—

"We have communicated to the king our master the answer which you gave us, in two audiences, respecting all that was represented to you in his name with regard to the Queen of Scotland. His majesty is in extreme pain at this answer, as well on account of the queen, his relation and sister-in-law,

as also on your account, Madam, whose friendship he so highly values, and wishes to preserve as long as he lives. We therefore entreat you again to take his request into your wise consideration, for he considers it to be just, and no less conformable to your honour and intentions than his own. In speaking of a matter which concerns all sovereigns, he does not wish, by any means, to infringe upon your rights. He acknowledges that you are a sovereign princess, and have an equal interest with all other princes in this matter. In respect to the ill-treatment which your majesty affirms you have received from your nearest relation, your majesty has repeatedly declared that you seek no revenge, and we believe these words. But with respect to the doubt that you still entertain, that by prolonging the life of the Queen of Scotland your own life would be in danger, and that measures must be taken accordingly, his majesty, your good brother, believes that the execution of that queen, which some persons recommend, would be infinitely more prejudicial to your tranquillity and health, your peace, and the welfare of your kingdom, than her life, even if she lived free in your kingdom or elsewhere. God has given you so much power and means, that you would be able to protect yourself against her; but now that she is in close confinement she cannot hurt even the meanest of your subjects.

"Ever since the twenty-fifth year of her age she has been without intercourse and counsel; and therefore it has been so much the easier for certain persons to deceive her, and to force themselves upon her with injudicious proposals. Had she, as reign-

ing Queen of Scotland, invaded England with an army to deprive you of your kingdom and your crown, and had then fallen into your hands, she could have expected nothing worse, according to the laws of war, than to pay a large ransom. Hitherto I* have been wholly unable to conceive how it can be any way affirmed that Mary Stuart is amenable to your tribunals. She came, though in great distress and seeking assistance, yet as a queen and your nearest relation, to England. She has long cherished the hope of being restored, through your goodness, to her kingdom; and instead of all these hopes, she has hitherto obtained nothing but perpetual imprisonment.

"We have communicated to our king your majesty's wish that some means might be discovered to make the preservation of Mary compatible with your own security, and he earnestly entertains the same wish. Yet it appears to him that all is in your hands, since you have Queen Mary entirely in your power. This noble princess is now so humbled and cast down, that her greatest enemies might have compassion on her. Hence I derive confidence in the clemency and generosity of your majesty. What remains to the Queen of Scotland but a miserable existence of a few days' duration? and we have never been able to persuade ourselves that you could resolve on so severe an execution. Cicero, speaking of King Dejotarus, said to Julius Cæsar, 'It is something so unusual to proceed capitally against a king, that such a thing has never before been heard of.'

* M. de Bellièvre speaks here in the singular number.

"If this Queen of Scotland is innocent, justice requires that she be acquitted; if you believe her to be guilty, it will be to your honour to pardon her, and in doing this you will do only what all good princes do. King Porsenna drew the hand of Mucius Scævola out of the fire and pardoned him, who boasted that he had entered the camp in order to murder him.

"The best precept for reigning well and happily is to refrain from blood, for blood cries for blood, and such executions generally lead to fatal consequences. We are now come to the festival of Christmas, when God, instead of taking vengeance on the wickedness and ingratitude of man, sent his only son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into this world to suffer as an offering and redeemer for our sins. We men therefore ought, at the season of Christmas, to keep our eyes and thoughts averted from all hateful things leading to misfortune and bloodshed. If your majesty should resolve on the severest measures against the Queen of Scotland, those with whom she is connected by rank or friendship may resolve on similar measures; but if you show clemency towards her, all the princes of Christendom will consider themselves bound to watch for your safety. And in the first place the King of France offers for his part, and promises by all means in his power, to hinder every enterprise directed against you. He will also urge Mary's relations, and bind them by oath in writing, that neither she herself, nor any other person for her, shall attempt anything hostile against you. If, regardless of all entreaties and arguments, you should resolve to proceed, he will not only sensibly feel it, as connected with the

common interest of all sovereigns, but look upon it as a personal affront to himself."

Hereupon Elizabeth wrote to Henry III. :—

"Sir, my good brother,—The old ground on which I have often built my letters now appears to me so extremely strange that I am obliged to alter my style and, instead of returning thanks, to make complaints. Good God! how could you be so possessed (forcené) as to believe that it was honourable or friendly to blame the oppressed party, and seek the death of an innocent person, that she may become the prey of a murderess? Ah! without regard to my rank, which is not inferior to yours, unmindful of my sincere friendship for you, (for I have almost lost all reputation among the princes of my own religion, because I have neglected them, in order not to cause disturbances in your kingdom,) exposed to such great dangers as hardly any prince ever was exposed to, in expectation of at least some ostensible reasons and offers to secure myself against the daily danger; notwithstanding all this, by way of epilogue to this whole negotiation, you are so infatuated by the words of those who (which God forbid) will in the end entirely ruin you, that (instead of a thousand thanks, which I have well deserved for such extraordinary and unusual favour) M. de Bellièvre has addressed me in language which in truth I do not know how to understand. For to say that if I do not save her life I should feel the consequences, appears to me to be the threat of an enemy, which I assure you will never put me in fear, but is the shortest way to dispatch the cause of so much evil. I should extremely regret if you should have to feel the consequences of such ambitious conduct, and

therefore, Sir, my good brother, please to inform me, through my ambassador, (in order to put an end to the matter,) in what sense I am to understand those words; for I will not live an hour to endure that any prince shall boast of having so humbled me as to make me, to my shame, empty such a cup.

"It is true M. de Bellièvre somewhat softened his language by adding, that you were far from wishing, and still more from preparing, any dangers for me. I therefore write to you these few words, and if you think fit to treat me accordingly, you shall never find a more faithful and true friend: but otherwise, I am not in so humble a position, nor do I govern such petty kingdoms, as to give way, in points of justice and honour, to any prince upon earth who offended me, and I do not doubt that through God's grace my party will be strong enough to support me. I therefore beg you rather to think of the means of preserving, than of diminishing my friendship. Your states, my good brother, cannot bear many enemies; do not, for God's sake, give the reins to wild horses, lest they throw you from your seat. I say this with a true and upright heart, and implore the Creator to give you a long and happy life."

On the 26th of January King James wrote to Elizabeth in favour of his mother, and very well stated the argument against her execution*. He then continues:—"But in case any do account themselves to know more of my mind in this matter than my ambassadors do, who indeed are fully acquainted thereon, I pray you do not take me for a chameleon,

* Cod. Harl., 4617.

but on the contrary, them to be malicious impostors, as surely they are."

To his ambassadors he wrote:—"I perceive by your last letter the queen, my mother, continues still in that miserable strait that the pretended condemnation of that parliament has put her in. A strange example, indeed, and so very rare, as, for my part, I have never heard of the like practice in such cases. I am sorry that, beyond my expectation, the queen has suffered this to proceed so far, to my dishonour, and so contrary to her good fame, as by subjects' mouths to condemn a sovereign prince, descended of all hands of the best blood of Europe. King Henry VIII.'s reputation was never prejudged in anything but in the beheading of his bedfellow. But that tragedy was far inferior to this, if it should proceed, as it seems to be (intended) in London."

LETTER LIX.

Reflections upon Mary.

I SHOULD abide by the simplest course, and communicate nothing but facts: every one may then believe, affirm, and judge what he pleases, or, as usually happens, content himself with what he has already collected, without trouble, for his own use, and which he knows how to manage; yet whenever I reach this point, I feel myself compelled to stop, to look round me and take breath.

The whole life of Mary Stuart is a series of catastrophes and peripetia, and this last is in truth but the almost inevitable conclusion of all that precede

it. Yet one feels inclined to dissolve the whole concatenation of causes, the connection of cause and effect, to interfere with the superior power of free will, and to arrange all things as they might or ought to be. This unquestionably noble and bold mode of proceeding, this tendency of unmixed sensibility, has latterly been especially brought forward by poets and historians, and given the colour to general opinion. I will by no means with cold heart cavil at them; but, on the other hand, justice and the duty of the historian require that we should not be moved and guided by one side only.

He is most just to Mary Stuart who does not select this or that event, this or that action of her life, to magnify or diminish it, to place it in too bright a light, or in dark shadow, but who looks upon her life as one uninterrupted whole, and neither forgets how she acted, nor how her actions were determined by external circumstances. Her fine natural qualities were cultivated in the French court of those days, according to two directions, which often appear to agree together, but in truth distract and destroy him who follows them. Unrestrained fanaticism, unreflecting levity, like rank weeds, choked what was originally a sense of religion and beauty; and when the energy of governing, as well as the pure pleasure which it afforded, was lost, intrigues of all kinds were employed to recover it, and the assertion of an inviolable divine right was to cover all other defects and crimes, or represent them as trifling and unimportant.

When two such different natures as those of John Knox and Mary Stuart were impelled against each other by the double current of the religious deve-

lopment of the age, one, the weaker and more frail, was necessarily broken. And to this one inevitable extreme danger, innumerable other circumstances were added. In the first place, the erroneous idea that a queen like Mary Stuart could at that time have governed England; then, the course which led from innocent poetical pleasantries, to improprieties, and then to crimes of the worst kind. I see every step before my eyes, and how the motion becomes more and more accelerated, till extreme danger of death in Scotland is to be averted only by imprisonment in England. Psychologically all is clear, natural, and intelligible, but not therefore justified in a moral and religious point of view.

On the whole, infinitely more and profounder considerations are here involved than those with which people are usually satisfied, and with reference to only one or two persons. Thus, for instance, the doctrine which I have just hinted at, of a divine right of sovereignty, far superior to all human influence. This doctrine has its own eternal foundation, but through a false comprehension and application, the sovereignty of the people appears in opposition to it, and both reciprocally destroy each other in abstract theory, and violent practice. There are crimes, which render a prince so unworthy of governing, that he should govern no longer, or at least can govern no longer, and in this incapacity we have a guarantee for the healthy condition and preservation of monarchies. Mary Stuart was not sensible of this truth, and it was especially by her endeavours to realize impossibilities, and thereby to prove her worthiness, that she continually fell into new follies and errors.

However this may be, she was in fact no longer a queen. The hypothesis disappeared in the dark sides of her life, and after the higher dignity attached to her person was considered to be annihilated by crimes, she became amenable to the ordinary legislation. We may easily imagine how the apprehension of foreign conquest, of internal wars and religious tyranny—how the preservation of everything that was dear to them, might make the Queen of Scotland appear to the English, at that time, in a light very different from that in which many now behold her. From her crimes hatred was produced, and when this had risen to such a height, the head of Mary was necessarily covered with the waves.

Elizabeth, her court, her council, her parliament did not doubt that laws, which might be applied to the case of Mary Stuart, were already in existence, or might be passed, and *granting this**, the judges could do no otherwise than pronounce her guilty. So situated, they only did their duty; and if, instead of the forms of judicial proceeding then in use, which were in many particulars defective, others had been used, the result, in my opinion, would have been to render more manifest, not her innocence, but her guilt.

I know that many will continue still to deny this guilt. As far as I am myself concerned, a mathematical problem is hardly more clearly demonstrated than the historical one, that Mary was not innocent

* Elisabeth, ihr Hof &c. zweifelten nicht daran, dass in Beziehung auf Maria Stuart verbindliche Gesetze vorhanden wären, oder gegeben werden dürften.

of the death of her husband, not ignorant that she was marrying his murderer, and that she was the author of the fatal letter to Babington.

On the other hand, I excuse her for considering every means as allowable, and playing this desperate game on which she staked her life. Her denial, on which many lay such great stress, proves, in my opinion, little or nothing, because she had never very scrupulously adhered to the truth, and nothing whatever has been adduced in confirmation of her denial. Besides, according to the manner in which she placed words and depositions, she had not directly aimed at the life of Elizabeth; the plan for the assassination had not originated with her. I further excuse her that she did not impeach herself, (which the law of England in no case requires,) and would not by an avowal pronounce her own sentence of death. The judges, it is true, could not be thereby induced to change their opinion, for rebellion and the proposed overthrow of the government appeared to them to be inseparable from the destruction of Elizabeth. Mary, however, by those evasions and subtle interpretations in the first instance deceived herself, and perhaps had a presentiment, and sagaciously enough foresaw, that she had adopted the only means to deceive and to delude in future.

But the greatest service in the world was undoubtedly rendered her by those who caused her to be executed. By this, attention was diverted from all the causes, from all that was equivocal, intriguing, and fanatical, and fixed exclusively on her last moments; the criminal was transformed, not merely into a justified penitent, but in the opinion of many even into a saint. This was a turn of

affairs which was certainly not contemplated by the persons then in power; they looked only at the present, and merely thought of doing what that demanded of God and of justice.

LETTER LX.

Letters of Walsingham, Davison, and Paulet, on Mary's Execution.

My last letter appears to me to be either too long or too short: too long as it interrupts a statement of facts; too short, because the arguments in support of what is asserted might be stated with more detail and precision. However, I will neither strike it out, nor add to it; it may stand as the moment suggested it.

Even those who pronounce Mary unworthy of the throne, guilty and justly condemned, could not help being led to new and serious considerations by the thought of executing the sentence. It undoubtedly excited conflicting emotions in the mind of Elizabeth *. The mournful recollection of the death of her mother, the dangers of her own youth, the natural horror of causing a sentence of death to be executed on her nearest relation, on a queen; the thought of the judgment of her contemporaries and of posterity, apprehensions of her own danger, her duties to her people, attachment to her religion; all this, united with dissuasions and entreaties on one side, with violent demands on the other, placed Elizabeth in so vacillating a state of mind, that she

* Raumer's History of Europe.

would and would not, advanced and retreated, resolved and revoked. How good would it be, said some, if it pleased Heaven to take Mary from this earth! Some more bold said, We must not idly wait for this; what (to say nothing of former times) Charles IX., Henry III., and John III., have ventured, in our days, from less urgent reasons, is fully justified in this case. In order to avoid further scandal and vain complaints, let Mary be put to death without noise, according to the sentence, and thereby peace be given both to her and to the kingdom.

I have discussed, in my "History of Europe," the question whether Elizabeth caused Paulet to be written to to this effect: new discoveries place the matter in a different light. First, I found a letter from Elizabeth to Paulet, of January 5, 1587*, in which she consoles him for the loss of his son, and adds, "Touching your revocation, we have the same in special care, and do mind to send very shortly some choice man to succeed in your place, assuring you that your service had been sure very agreeable to us, yea, and in such sort liked, that we pray God your successor may follow your steps, unto whom we doubt not but you will give such instructions and admonitions as may be for the better advantage of our service in this most dangerous world."

In a letter of Paulet's of the 9th of December, 1586, he says†—"Queen Elizabeth has answered the French ambassador in such sound, princely, and majestical sort, as moved admiration of all the

* Cod. Harl., 787, p. 17. It might perhaps be the 5th of January, 1586, but this letter is of less importance.

† Bibl. Cott. Caligula, C. ix.

hearers. Her highness being now justly provoked in many ways, if I mistake not the copy, will not give place to the pride of so poor a neighbour, but will repress the same in his first budding; a principal, or rather the only remedy, in such forward, I will not say presumptuous, attempts." In conclusion, Paulet says, "that he is persuaded of the honourable necessity of the case;" by which he undoubtedly means the execution of Mary.

On the 2nd of January, 1587, Paulet writes to Walsingham *—"I wish unto you all good means to increase your health; but it seems that this cold season of the year has need of hot and earnest solicitors; the delay is fearful; God send it a good and happy issue!"

Hence it should seem that Paulet considered the sentence as just, and the execution of it necessary. An idea might, therefore, arise, that he would consider the secret execution of Mary as recommended by policy and justified, and would assist in it. There are in the British Museum copies of the two printed letters of Davison and Walsingham to Paulet, of the 1st of January, and Paulet's answer of the 2nd of February, but it is not stated whence they came †.

On the same 1st of February, Davison (without Walsingham) wrote as follows to Paulet:—"I pray let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which we assure (you) shall likewise be met (meted, *i. e.* done) to your answer, after it has been communicated to the Queen for her satisfaction."

I also found the postscript of a letter from Davison, dated the 3rd of February; the letter itself is missing,

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

† Cod. Harl., 6994, Nos. 29 and 30.

and no mention is made of Walsingham. The postscript says, "I intreated you in my last letter to burn both my letters sent to you for the argument's sake, which, by your answers to the secretary (Walsingham), which I have seen, appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics of the one and the other, as I mean to use yours, after her majesty hath seen it."

At the conclusion of the postscript he says, "I pray you let me hear what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept; that I might satisfy her majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat, and if you intreat this paper in the same kind, you shall not err a whit."

On the 8th of February Paulet replies to Davison*—"The rule of charity commands to bear with the impatience of the afflicted, which Christian lessons you have learnt, as I find by experience, to my great contentment. Yea, that you have been content to bear with my malapertness, wherein you bind me more and more to love you, and to honour you, which I will do with all honest faithfulness. If I should say, I have burned the papers you wrote, yet I cannot tell if everybody will believe me, therefore I reserve them, to be delivered to your own hands at my coming to London. God bless you, and prosper all your actions to his glory. Fotheringay, 8th of February, 1587. Yours, most assuredly, to my small power,—Amyas Paulet."

If we consider the matter impartially as it now stands, the following may be the result: Firstly, there seems no doubt that the two letters in question were really written to and by Paulet. Notwith-

* Queen Mary, vol. vi.

standing all care and anxiety, copies of them have at least been preserved, to the authenticity of which the two subsequent letters of Davison and Paulet's second letter bear indirect testimony. Salmon's objections to the subscription, "your most assured friends," falls to the ground, for I find that this expression was in general use at that time, and the only doubt remaining is, whether Paulet and Drury were of sufficient rank to make use of it to Davison and Walsingham. Paulet, however, in his second letter writes, "Yours, most assuredly, &c."

Secondly, it is very probable that Elizabeth had spoken of this plan, at least with Davison, but it is doubtful whether she gave a formal direction to write to Paulet, and whether, as Davison maintains, she saw his answer. Davison had probably reckoned on a reply from Paulet approving of the idea, in order thus the more effectually to support it, and give way to his negotiation. Hence his great anxiety lest anything should transpire prematurely.

Thirdly, while the documents that have been found bring us nearer to the truth, and throw fresh light on the subject, a new enigma arises. Davison maintains that the queen signed the warrant, and gave it to him, to be *immediately* delivered and executed; and yet, after the *public* execution had already been ordered, caused negotiations to be entered into for a *private* murder. This is evidently a confusion of dates (a hysteron-proteron), and a misrepresentation of facts. The matter is cleared up in a very simple manner, if we assume that Elizabeth provisionally signed the warrant, but commanded Davison *not to give it out of his hands.*

LETTER LXI.

Execution of Mary.

Two important questions now remain for us to examine; first, what were the circumstances preceding the execution of Mary? and secondly, who was the real cause of its taking place? The draught of the death-warrant, signed on the 1st of February, is in the hand-writing of Burghley, and lays the greatest stress on the demands of the parliament and the people *. Among other things it is there stated that "Elizabeth had treated with neglect their general and continuous requests, prayers, counsels, and advices; and hereupon, contrary to our natural disposition in such a case, being overcome with the evident weight of these counsellors, and the daily continuance of their intercessions, importing such a necessity as appeared directly tending to the safety, not only of ourself, but also to the weal of our whole realm, we have condescended to suffer justice to take place," &c.

The commission respecting the execution of the sentence is dated the 3rd of February, and addressed to the Earls of Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke. They are commanded to keep this commission secret. It is signed by Burghley, Derby, Leicester, Howard, Hunsdon, Cobham, Knollys, Hatton, Walsingham, and Davison.

Though all the principal circumstances of the execution are already known, yet the following extracts from various reports may here be inserted. The first is evidently from one of Mary's adherents

* Cod., 4663, vol. ii.

On Monday the 15th of February, 1587, Beale, clerk of the council, was sent from the Queen of England with the commission to Fotheringay, with orders to make every preparation for the execution of the Queen of Scotland. The Earl of Shrewsbury also, and several other lords of the neighbourhood, received orders to be present thereat. On his arrival, between eight and nine in the evening, Beale repaired to the queen's residence, and on the door being immediately opened by one of the women in waiting, he demanded whether the queen were already gone to bed. She answered, the queen was already undressed, and had laid aside her mantle, but at the same time announced to her that Beale was in the ante-chamber and desired to speak with her majesty. After she had again put on her mantle and given permission to Beale to enter, the latter saluted her and said, "Madam, I wish that it had fallen to the lot of any other than myself to be the bearer, in the name of the Queen of England, of such evil tidings as mine; but as a faithful servant I could not do otherwise than obey. I am desired, namely, to exhort you to prepare for suffering, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, the execution of the sentence which was some days since announced to you."

Mary replied with much firmness, and without appearing at all discomposed, "I praise and thank God that he is pleased to put an end to so much misery and misfortune as for nineteen years I have been compelled to suffer. From the beginning of my imprisonment I have been ill-treated by my sister, the Queen of England, without (God is my witness) having offended her. I give into his hands my spirit innocent, my heart pure, my conscience clean, and

can tread boldly into his presence; for I am guiltless of the crimes laid to my charge. As it is ordered that I shall die so violent a death, in consequence of an unjust sentence pronounced by men who have no power over me, I will nevertheless submit to it, and rather die than live any longer in such misery. Nor have I expected anything from the deadly hatred and cruelty of the queen, and also from her counsellors, my old enemies, whom she has employed to bring about my destruction and death. I will patiently suffer this, in order to be clear of their uninterrupted persecutions, and (if it please God) to reign for ever in a happier state than the one which has been my lot for the greater part of my life with so hard-hearted and cruel a relation; but since she has resolved upon such severity, God's will be done."

When the women and other persons about the queen heard the melancholy intelligence, they began to weep and lament, nay, almost to give themselves up to despair, without attending to the mild consolation given them by their mistress; admonishing them that they should be patient, in remembrance of the sufferings and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, on whom their hope and salvation depended.

After this she prayed with her women till one o'clock in the morning, and then wished to lie down upon her bed, but she rested only half an hour, and then went into a cabinet, which served her for a chapel, there to offer up her prayers alone. Here she remained till towards morning, the others having in the mean time continued their devotions in her room. When she came forth, she said to her ladies, "My good friends, it grieves me infinitely that I am

unable to reward as I could wish the faithful services which you have rendered me in the time of my distress. I can do nothing but add a clause to my will, in which I charge my son, the King of Scotland, to give you all due satisfaction after my death. I shall write to him specially upon this and other matters."

She then went into her cabinet to write, and after the lapse of about two hours, when she had almost finished her letters, there was a knock at the door, which she herself opened. It was Beale and her keeper, Paulet, whom she begged to allow her half an hour's time, in order to finish writing something that she had begun. This request was granted, but Beale and Paulet remained in the ante-chamber. In a short time she again came out (leaving what she had written in the cabinet), and said to two of her women, "My good friends, I pray you do not forsake me, but remain with me in the hour of my death." Then going into the chamber, she there found Beale and Paulet, and said to them, "Is the time come for me to die? Tell me, for I am wholly prepared to do so, with as much patience as God may be pleased to afford me. Yet I beg you to tell and inform the Queen of England, my sister, that she and her council have passed upon me the most unjust sentence that ever was pronounced in this kingdom, without any legal form, without observance of the order of justice. I am moreover persuaded that God's judgments will encompass her so nearly and closely, that her conscience throughout life, and God after death, will accuse her on account of the innocence with which I am ready to resign my spirit into his hands."

Hereupon two of her women and her house-steward approached her, took her under the arm, and led her down into a large hall, which was hung with black and fitted up for the occasion, and which was full of people. In the centre was a platform, raised five or six steps, which Mary ascended with the support of these ladies. All the people were profoundly attentive to watch every motion, and catch every word. Her countenance appeared of such extraordinary beauty that all were astonished at it. She knelt down, folded her hands, raised her eyes to Heaven, and with as much composure as if she were not on the brink of the grave, uttered, during the deepest silence, the following prayer:—

"My God, my Father, my Creator, and Thou his only Son, Jesus Christ, my Lord and my Redeemer! Thou art the hope of all who live and die in Thee. As Thou hast ordained that my soul shall be separated from this mortal body, I pray Thee, according to Thy mercy and goodness, not to leave it in this last hour, but to cover it with Thy grace, and to forgive me all the faults and transgressions which I have committed against Thy holy commandments. And although by Thy grace I was born as a queen, and anointed in Thy church, I always considered that this greatness does not excuse my failings towards Thee, but that, like all other mortals, I am subject to Thy judgments, which are more faithful and true than those which arise in the heads and hearts of inconstant men, who have brought me hither to this bloody death. Yet I pray Thee, my God, to forgive me as I forgive my enemies. Suffer me lastly, my God, in the presence of these witnesses, before all England, nay, all Christendom,

to affirm for my justification, that I have never in any way taken part in the conspiracies against the life of the Queen of England, or given my advice or consent to them. I have certainly endeavoured, with the aid of my friends, relations, allies, and honourable persons of this kingdom, to free myself from this wretched confinement, but without prejudice to this kingdom, or disobedience to Thy heavenly commandments. If this be not so, I will be content to have no share in salvation and redemption. I beseech Thee to pardon all my other transgressions, on the intercession of the Virgin Mary and all the holy Angels, that I may reign for ever with them in celestial glory."

When the queen had finished this prayer, she drew from beneath her mantle a white handkerchief, and said to one of her women, "Take this handkerchief and bind my eyes, and do not abandon my body at this last moment, while I must be thinking of my soul." After her eyes were bound, a Protestant clergyman approached, and the executioner, dressed in black velvet; and the former addressed her, saying, "Madam, you must think no more on the things of this world, but on God alone." The queen immediately turned towards one of her women, and asked her, "Is not that a minister who speaks to me?" and the woman answered, "Yes, madam." She then said, "Ah, my God! I remember Thy words, in the hour of our death we shall be tempted and assailed by the enemies of our soul;" and quoting the words of David in the 6th and 38th Psalms, she said, "Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping; the Lord will receive my prayer. Forsake

me not, O Lord; O my God, be not far from me. Make haste to help me, O Lord of my salvation."

All present wondered at the great beauty and firmness of the unfortunate princess. The executioner then approached to fulfil his task, which he speedily performed after the manner of this country. He then took the head in his hand, and said, "This is the head of Mary Stuart." The body was covered with a black cloth, the head laid by it, and both afterwards removed to the chamber where the queen used to sleep.

The most of those who heard Mary's declarations believed her to be innocent; and it is thought that if the execution had taken place in public, she might perhaps have been rescued*.

As soon as the news of Mary's death reached London, all the bells were rung for twenty-four hours, and bonfires lighted in all the streets and public places.

LETTER LXII.

The Death of Mary.

From the official report of Mary's execution, by an anonymous eye-witness, I extract the following paragraphs†:—"She heard with composure the announcement of the sentence of death, and seemed not terrified or dismayed by any of her outward postures or behaviour, but rather with a smiling and pleasant countenance. Yet after she had spoken

* Two thousand cavalry were stationed in the vicinity, for the preservation of tranquillity. Ellis, Letters, iii., 13.

† Cod. Harl., 4663, vol. ii.

(what we already know), she wept bitterly and became silent. She was of stature tall, corpulent, and somewhat roundly-shouldered; her face fat and broad."

Hereupon her dress is accurately described, and an account given of her taking leave of Melville. The request that some of her servants might be present at the execution was at first refused by the Earl of Kent; but he granted it on further solicitation, and after consulting with his colleagues. She went to the hall of execution with undismayed countenance, and without any fear. The scaffold was two feet high and twelve broad, and, as well as the cushion and block, covered with black. A chair was brought her; the Earl of Shrewsbury sat upon her right hand, the Earl of Kent upon her left; opposite were the two executioners, and round about the scaffold the persons who had been admitted. Silence having been commanded, an officer of justice read the sentence of death and the order for the execution, after which "the assembly present, with a lower voice, said, 'God save the queen.' During the reading of the commission the Queen of Scots was very silent, listening unto it with so careless a regard as if it had not concerned her at all; marry, with such a cheerful countenance, as if it had been a pardon from her majesty for her life. And then, withal, she used such strangeness in her words and deeds as that she had not known any of the assembly; as she had been ignorant of the English language.

"Then Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing directly before her, without the rails, bended his knee with very great reverence to utter to her the exhortation following:—'Madam, the queen's

most excellent majesty,' &c., and uttering these words three or four times. (It is well known how she interrupted him.)

"Hereupon the two executioners knelt and begged her to forgive them. She answered, 'I forgive you with all my heart, for I hope this shall give me an end of all my troubles.' With the help of her women she was disrobed, and laid the crucifix on a chair. One of the governors took from her neck her Agnus Dei, and then she began to lay hold of it, saying that she would quit it to one of her women, and told the executioner he should have money for it. Then she suffered them, with her two women, to disrobe her of her chain of amber beads and of all her apparel, and with a kind of gladness and smiling, she began to make herself unready, putting on a pair of gloves with her own hands, which before they had put off, and that with such speed as if she longed to have been yet out of the world.

"During all the time of disrobing the queen, she never altered her countenance, but smiling as it were, said that she never had such grooms to make her unready, and said, 'I never put off my clothes before such company.' At length she being stript of all her apparel, saving her petticoat and kirtle, then her two women, looking on her, burst into a very great and pitiful shrieking, crying, and lamenting, crossing themselves, and prayed in Latin. Then Mary, turning to them and seeing them in such a lamentable and mournful plight, embraced them, and said these words in French—'Weep not; it is joy for me and for you!' and so crossed and kissed them, bade them pray for her, and rejoice and not mourn; 'for that now,' said she, 'you shall see an end of your mistress's troubles.'

"Then with a smiling countenance she turned to her servants, Melvil and the rest, standing on a bench near the scaffold, who were weeping sometimes, and sometimes crying aloud, and, continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin. She then turned to them, crossing herself likewise, crossed and bid them farewell, and begged them to pray for her even to the last hour."

She herself, continues the reporter, would not pray with the Protestants, for that was sinful; on which the Earl of Kent exhorted her to lay aside those popish trumperies.

Her head was severed with two strokes; the countenance changed the first moment, so that it could not be recognized, and the lips trembled for nearly a quarter of an hour after. When the executioner collected the clothes, he found the queen's little dog, which would not be driven away, but laid himself down between her head and her shoulders.

A third report, of the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, contains, upon the whole, what we already know*. I subjoin only the following passages, as characteristic:—After taking leave of Melvil, "she demanded to speak with her priest, which was denied unto her, the rather, for that she came with a superstitious pair of beads and a crucifix. As soon as the commission, &c., had been read upon the scaffold, the Dean of Peterborough, according to a direction he had received the night before from us, the earls, would have made a godly admonition unto her to repent and die well, in the fear of God and charity of the world. But at the first entry she utterly refused it, saying that she was a Catholic,

* Cod. Harl., 4663, vol. ii.

and that it were a folly to move her, being so resolutely minded, and that our prayers would little avail her. Whereupon, to the intent that it might appear that we and the whole assembly had a Christian desire for her to die well, a godly prayer, conceived by the dean, was read, and pronounced by us all, that it would please Almighty God to send her His Holy Spirit and grace; and also, if it were His will, to pardon all her offences, and of His mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom; and finally, to bless her majesty and confound all her enemies."

A fourth report, addressed by Mr. Wyse to Burghley, differs in a few particulars, which I subjoin *:—While Dean Fletcher was uttering this exhortation, the said queen three or four times said unto him—"Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself nor me, but know that I am settled a Catholic."

On a second attempt of Fletcher to lead her to the truth, she repeated her answer with great earnestness. Hereupon the two earls said—"Madam, we will pray God for your grace, that, if it may stand with God's will, you may have your mind enlightened with the true knowledge of God and his word, and so die therein." Then answered the queen—"Nay, if you will pray *with me*, I will even from my heart thank you, and think myself greatly favoured by you; but to join in prayers with you, my lords, who are not of one and the self-same religion with me, it were a sin, and I will not."

* Cod. Harl. 290, p. 196. Bibl. Lansdown, vol. i., No. 46.*

LETTER LXIII.

Davison's Share in the Execution of Mary—His Defence—His Trial—Burghley to Elizabeth on the Execution—The same upon Davison.

Though the result of all the newly-discovered documents is to deepen the shade that falls on Mary's life and actions, I repeat what I have said on a former occasion*, that nobody can refuse her the most heartfelt compassion. But herein lies the most mysterious and affecting part of this tragical history, that Mary, in spite of all her penance, does not escape the fatal axe; that Elizabeth imperceptibly, and from day to day, becomes less and less able mercifully to terminate the difference with her rival; that while she fancies that she has all in her power, we would say while she too boldly sports with life and death, the lot escapes from her hand, the blow falls without her knowledge, and she herself cannot, while posterity will not, remove this one dark spot, which hereby dims the lustre of her otherwise so splendid reign.

You, my good friend, agreed with me in the mode in which I related this last event in my History of Europe: it now remains to be seen whether the new examination of what was already known, and a comparison with what has hitherto been unknown, will place the conduct of Elizabeth, Davison, and the counsellors, in a different light.

We will commence with Davison's first defence, dated the 20th of February, and addressed to Wal-

* Hist. of Europe, vol. ii., 580.

singham*. He says, "After sentence against the Scottish queen had been pronounced, signed by the lords and other commissioners, and the contents made publicly known by the royal declaration, nothing was wanting but the warrant for the execution under the great seal of England. In consequence of the request of the parliament, the counsellors, and the most respectable subjects, her majesty at length yielded, and ordered the Lord Treasurer to draw up the warrant. The Lord Treasurer gave me the draught, to get it signed; but as the French and Scotch ambassadors at that time interceded for Mary's life, the queen delayed affixing her signature till some days after their departure, namely, to the 1st of February. The Lord High Admiral, about this time, representing to the queen to what imminent danger she was daily exposed, and that she ought to take greater care of herself and the state, she resolved no longer to defer the execution, and commanded his lordship to desire me to lay the warrant before her for her signature. This was done, Elizabeth read and signed it, and, laying it aside, asked if I was not heartily sorry to see that it was done, &c. Hereupon she gave me the warrant to get the seal affixed to it, and to desire the Lord Chancellor to keep it secret, because, if it became known prematurely, her danger might be the greater. At the same time she desired me to visit Walsingham, who was then ill, and communicate the matter to him, though I fear (she added cheerfully) his grief at it will

* Cod. Harl., 290. This and the following written defences of Davison, and his examination, are printed in Nicholas's Life of Davison; but as this book is little known, and the contents are indispensable here, I give the substance of it as briefly as possible.

certainly be his death. On this occasion she repeated several reasons why she had so long delayed, especially on account of her honour, that the world might see that she had not been actuated by passion or malice. Yet (she concluded) she had never been so ill-advised as not to comprehend her own danger and the necessity of proceeding to the execution."

In the sequel of this narrative Davison remarks that the queen had expressed the wish that he and Walsingham should write to Paulet and Drury, who might have relieved her of this burthen, and that on the following morning Elizabeth sent him directions not to have the seal affixed to the warrant till she had spoken with him. Davison informed her that it was already done, to which she said, "Why such haste?" These and other remarks excited in Davison (according to his account) many reflections, which he communicated to the Lord Chamberlain, Hatton. The queen, he said, was a woman, timid, irresolute, inclined perhaps to lay all the blame on him, on which account he (Davison) left it to him and others to decide what was further to be done. From the whole of this statement of Davison it evidently appears that the queen had given him no positive orders either for himself or others. The Lord Chamberlain, however, replied, he was glad the affair had come so far, and he wished to see him hung who would not join with Davison in carrying it into effect. Upon this they both went to Burghley, who drew up the orders to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury; the counsellors were assembled, and they agreed that the queen had done as much as honour, the law, and reason could require. A short conversation ensued, whether the queen, perhaps,

wished to cast this burthen from herself. Every one offered to bear his part in a matter of such importance for the safety of the state and the church, and it was in the end resolved to send away the warrant for the execution, without troubling her majesty any further upon the subject. "For in the first place she had told me she would hear no more of the matter till it was over; she had done what the law and reason required of her." Lastly, it was to be apprehended that a useless consultation with the queen might have the dangerous consequence of involving her in new doubts and delays. The orders were therefore delivered, without further application to the queen, to Mr. Beale, to carry them to the Earls.

"The next morning," continues Davison, "her majesty being in some speech with Mr. Raleigh (?) in the privy chamber, seeing me come, called me unto her, and (as if she had understood nothing of those proceedings*) told me how she had been troubled that night upon a dream she had, that the Scotch queen was executed, pretending to have been so greatly moved with this news against myself, as in that passion she could have done she wot not what. But this being delivered in a pleasant and smiling manner, I answered her majesty, that it was good for me I was not near her so long as that humour lasted. But with all, taking hold of her speech, I asked her in great earnest what it meant, and whether, having proceeded thus far, she had not a full and resolute meaning to go through with the said execution, according to her warrant. Her

* How was she to know it, since they had all engaged to proceed with secrecy?

answer was 'Yes,' confirmed with a solemn oath in some vehemence. : This only she thought, that it might have received a better form, because this threw the whole burden upon herself; whereto I replied, that the form prescribed by the warrant was such as the law required, and could not be altered with any honour, justice, or surety."

On the following day Davison informed the queen that Paulet and Drury had entirely declined the intimation that had been given them. The queen thought that this was an excessive scrupulousness, on which Davison affirms that he had argued against this opinion. In a subsequent conversation with Davison, Elizabeth, according to his report, repeated that, on her part, she had done everything required by law and justice; that delay would increase the danger, as it was a shame for all that more had not already been done.

If we strip Davison's justification, which is addressed to Walsingham, of the praise which he spends on himself, and his wise speeches, we might probably assume as truth,

Firstly. Elizabeth had a great disinclination to execute the sentence. She however considered it just, and at some moments thought the execution of it necessary. Hence her vacillation and her varying expressions, in which she was the less reserved, as she believed that the final decision still remained in her hands. On the other side,

Secondly. Davison's conjecture was by no means unnatural that Elizabeth would willingly have transferred to others, not the fault, (for in this she did not believe,) but the act.

Thirdly. The reflections of Davison, his conver-

sation with the chamberlain, the deliberation in the council, prove that Elizabeth had given no positive order for the execution. On the contrary, a formal resolution was taken not to regard the doubts which existed, and not to refer back to the queen. Davison gave the opportunity, the lords considered it as their duty to make use of it, and all believed that they should do the queen and their country the greatest service.

Fourthly. The assertion that "Davison ought not to have communicated the warrant," he answers by the observation, that he was obliged to speak to some persons concerning it, others were informed of it without his communication, and he had a right to consider the counsellors as the most faithful servants of Elizabeth. Lastly, if in the interim, and by his delay, any misfortune had befallen the queen, the greatest blame would have been laid upon him, &c. At all events, Davison had not the slightest inclination to do anything for Mary, but persisted in maintaining silence to Elizabeth, at the moment when (for instance, after the relation of her dream) it would have been his duty to tell her what, in consequence of his proceedings, had been resolved by the counsellors and already done. He did not wish to make the affair go back, but probably reckoned on thanks and reward. Besides, the whole communication between Elizabeth and Davison proves that it did not once occur to her to believe that the warrant had already been despatched. The form, she said, threw the whole burthen upon her: so she could not artfully intend to make her secretary the scape-goat.

Fifthly. When the news of Mary's execution

arrived, Burghley and the other counsellors resolved not to communicate it suddenly to the queen, but probably carefully to prepare her for it. Elizabeth, however, received the information from another quarter, and was seized, as is well known, with the most violent agitation, which there is no reason whatever for supposing to be feigned.

A second and a third defence of Davison are, on the whole, of the same tenor; and his answer to the questions judicially put to him is in substance*, "The queen did not command me to observe absolute secrecy; I considered the danger to be great, took her will for granted, and misunderstood her." If Elizabeth designedly spoke in an equivocal manner, in order to deceive and mislead, she has been severely punished for it by history; but it may also be affirmed that the others did not act quite sincerely and *bonâ fide*. They despatched the warrant, says Davison, in consideration of the troubles, of the popular excitement, of the danger from abroad, &c.

Davison's justification could not protect him from a legal inquiry, through which many points appeared in a different light, and less to his advantage. We have by no means space to give these proceedings at full length. It is, however, just to communicate, at least, extracts of the declarations of the others.

Some of the persons who had subscribed the orders to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, declared, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the judges†, that Davison brought no express command from the queen for the execution of the sentence. "We, however, took it for granted that it was her

* Cod. Harl., 419, p. 163.

† The 27th of March, 1589. Queen Mary, vol. vi.

will. We confess that at that time, for many probable causes which then so moved us, we thought that it was agreeable to her majesty's mind that it should be then executed; and therefore we did consent to send the warrant to the said earls, and that with all secrecy we could devise, lest it might be known abroad, specially to any desperate person about the court or city, who might, by some mischievous desperate attempt against her majesty's person, prevent the execution of the said commission. But now understanding that her majesty has declared that, though she did signify the same, yet she, at that time, meant not to have it executed, we have cause to be most sorry and grieved that at that time we did not understand by Mr. Davison anything to move us to be in doubt of her majesty's meaning, but that it should be executed. And to the question whether the Lord Treasurer did ask Davison, when he brought the warrant, whether he did know the queen's pleasure, the Treasurer answered, that the day before he did once or twice ask Davison whether he found the queen to continue her mind for proceeding therein, who answered 'Yes!' So the Lord Treasurer was fully persuaded therein."

The letters of Burghley, already printed in Strype's Annals, are not so important as the following*. The first, addressed to Elizabeth, is in these terms:—

"Most mighty and gracious queen!—I know not with what manner of words to direct my writing to your majesty: to utter anything like a counsellor, as I was wont to do, I find myself debarred, by your majesty's displeasure, declared unto me many ways:

* Cod. Harl., 411.- Strype, book ii., 371.

to utter anything in my defence: being in your majesty's displeasure, I doubt, whilst the displeasure lasteth, how to be heard without the increase of the same; and to rest also dumb must needs both increase and continue your heavy displeasure. And therein is my misfortune, far beyond others in like case, who, coming to your person, may with boldness say that for themselves which I also might as truly allege for myself. Therefore, most gracious queen, in these perplexities, I am sometimes deeply drawn down near to the pit of despair, but yet sometimes also drawn up to behold the beams of your accustomed graces; and therefore stayed and supported with the pillar of my conscience before God, and of my loyalty towards your majesty; and so I am, I thank my God, prepared to suffer patiently the discomfort of one, and to enjoy the comfort of the other, knowing both to be in your power.

"I hear with grief of mind and body also that your majesty doth utter more heavy, hard, bitter, and minatory speeches against me than almost against any other, and so much the more do they wound me in the very strings of my true heart, as they are commonly and vulgarly reported, although by some, with compassion, of me, knowing my long, painful, dangerous, unspotted service; but by divers others, I think with applause, as maligning me for my true service against your sworn enemies. And if any reproach, yea if any punishment for me may pleasure your majesty, and not hinder your majesty's reputation (which is hardly to be imagined), I do yield thereunto, and do offer me, your majesty, (a sacrifice to satisfy your majesty's displeasure, or to

pleasure any other person,) to acquit myself freely of all places of public governments or concernments, whereof none of them can be used by me to your benefit, being in your displeasure. And yet, nevertheless, I shall continue in a private state as earnest in continual prayers for your majesty's safety and my country, as I was wont to be in public actions. And whatever worldly adversity your majesty shall lay upon me, I shall, by assistance of God's grace, constantly and resolutely affirm, prove, and protest to the world, during the few days of my life, that I never did, or thought to do, anything with mind to offend your majesty. But in the presence of God, who shall judge both quick and dead, I do avow that I never was in my under age more fearful to displease my masters and tutors, than I have always been inwardly, both out of and in your presence, to discontent your sacred majesty. I thank God, out of due reverence, and not out of doubtfulness now, to do my duty.

"Thus, most gracious queen, being by my own mishaps deprived of your presence, I have confusedly uttered my great griefs, and have offered the sacrifice of a sorrowful wounded heart, ready to abide your majesty, and to wear out the few, short, and weak threads of my old, painful, and irksome days as your majesty shall limit them; being glad that the night of my age is so near, by service and sickness, as I cannot long wake to the miseries, that I fear others shall see to overtake us, from the which I shall and do pray the Almighty God to deliver your person, as he has hitherto done, rather by miracle than by ordinary means.

"I beseech your majesty, pardon me to remember, to let you understand my opinion of Mr. Davison. I never perceived by him that you would have misliked to have had an end of the late capital enemy, and what your majesty minded to him in your displeasure I hear to my grief; but for a servant in that place I think is hard to find a like qualified person, when to reign (remain?) in your majesty's displeasure shall be more your loss than his*."

Thus far the first letter of Burghley to Elizabeth. The second, addressed to a person whose name does not appear, dated the 10th of March, 1587†, is as follows:—

"Her majesty was altogether ignorant of the deed, and not privy thereto until a reasonable time after the same was done. Besides her royal solemnly given word that she is ignorant of this transaction, there are many proofs which testify her dislike to the measure. She paid no attention to the demands of the parliament, which departed in no small grief of mind. After the dissolution of the parliament all her counsellors, both privately and publicly, continued their solicitations by many urgent reasons that concerned the safety of her own person; against which, though she had no reason to maintain her refusal, yet she dismissed them always unsatisfied with the only repugnant disposition of her mind. Of these arguments before the fact,

* If I have at least understood the meaning of this passage, Mr. Nicholas's laboured proof that Burghley was always Davison's enemy falls to the ground.

† Cod. 4647.

the times, places, persons, were so many as there is nothing more notorious in court or country. And thus she continued her mind constantly, to the great grief of all who loved her, and saying that she had this repugnancy in her own nature. She did know that to have assented thereto had been agreeable to God's law and man's, and most pleasing to all her faithful subjects.

"Now for the time and manner of the fact done she was also ignorant, and so all of her council that had any knowledge thereof did afterwards confess, that though *they were abused* by one of the council, being her secretary, *whose office was in all affairs* to deliver unto their knowledge her majesty's liking or misliking, yet in very truth no one of them was able to show *any other* proof of knowledge of her liking but the report colourably uttered by the said secretary. Yet such was the universal desire of all people to have justice done, and the benefit so manifest for the safety of her person, *that no man had any disposition to doubt of the report.* And so it appeared manifestly afterwards of what was done. She fell into such deep grief of mind, and that accompanied with vehement, unfeigned weeping, as her health was greatly impaired. And then she charged all her counsellors most bitterly that were privy thereto; and though they did affirm that they thought that she assented, as they were informed only by the secretary, yet she furtherwise commanded the secretary to the Tower, who confessed his abuse in the report, having no such declaration to him made of her majesty's assent; and commanded the greater part of her principal counsellors to places of

restraint, banishing a great part of them from her, notwithstanding the great need she had of their presence and service all the time; a matter seen in her court, universally misliked to see her so greatly grieved and offended for a matter that was in justice and policy most necessary. In this manner she continued a long time to sorrow for that which was done, and in offences against her counsellors, and the prosecution of the cause, with intention of displeasure. She called to her five of her judges and men learned in law, and directed them to use all means possible to examine her secretary of the grounds of his actions, and how many were privy of his abuse; and also the most part of her privy counsellors; and to that end gave a like commission to a number of noblemen of the realm, though not privy counsellors, and to the two archbishops, and to all the chief judges of the realm, who did very exactly proceed against the secretary, upon his own confession, in public place of judgment; and did likewise examine the rest of the council upon sundry interrogations, tending to burden them as offenders; and finding no proof against them of anything material, but of their credulity to the secretary, the judges of the commission only proceeded against the secretary for his imprisonment in the Tower, a fine of 1000 marks for his contempt against her majesty, the process of which sentence is to be publicly seen in the Court of Chancery."

The queen, it is further stated, is innocent, and Davison guilty, he affirming truly that her majesty was neither willing nor privy thereto; but yet he affirmed that he at the same time saw so imminent

danger to her majesty's person by the sufferance of another to live that was justly condemned to death, and the whole realm in a murmur against the life of the said person, as he was provoked in his conscience to procure justice to be done without her majesty's consent or knowledge. And upon the said trial and the said secretary's own confession, and upon other proofs, tending to show the said secretary fully culpable of the fact, notwithstanding the allegation of the motive of his conscience, the lords and judges very solemnly gave sentence against him.

LETTER LXIV.

Davison's Trial—Justification of Elizabeth.

The justification of Davison, and my own remarks on it, receive a new light from the preceding letters. The following extracts also tend to the same object:—

A report of the transactions of the Star Chamber*, relative to Davison and the trial of Mary, commences with a short account of the investigation, till the pronouncing of the sentence of death.

"The queen," it is stated, "delayed the execution. But when by tumultuous and disorderly assemblies of her people, stirred up as it seemed by lewd devisers of hue and cry, and of other false rumours; and when new practices against her majesty were discovered, then her majesty, in great wisdom, and for the great care she had over the realm and subjects, thought it convenient to put in

* Cod., 6265, p. 400.

readiness that what was requisite for the end of the whole errand so much desired.

"And therefore her majesty, in the beginning of the last month, signed a writ or commission, directed to certain noblemen, for the execution of the Queen of Scots, which being signed, her majesty delivered it to Mr. Davison, one of her principal secretaries, here present at the bar, with this commandment, that he should use it with secrecy, which he promised to do carefully, and was nevertheless pleased that he should acquaint her secretary Walsingham with the same, and to proceed to my lord chancellor for the sealing thereof, which he did accordingly.

"But before his return to her majesty, she sent an express messenger to him to have stayed it from the seal, until he heard further of her majesty's pleasure. This messenger coming too late, he attended to her majesty with declaration what he had done, showing to her the commission under the seal; to whom she said, 'What needed that haste?' which might have served for a sufficient caution to understand, that her majesty was not then resolved when the matter should be finished. Notwithstanding, Mr. Davison, of his own head, without the privity or consent of her majesty, and contrary to her command for secrecy, imparted the same to divers lords and counsellors, showing them also the commission. Whereupon they, not knowing any impediment, wrote their letter to the commissioners to proceed, which letter Mr. Davison sent away the next day after, together with the commission of the execution of the Scottish Queen, which within four or five days

after was performed accordingly, her majesty being altogether unacquainted with the matter, neither giving any commandment nor appointing the time or place, as in so weighty a case it had been most requisite.

"As Burghley asked Mr. Davison privately whether her majesty continued in that mind to have the execution proceed? he answered that she did continue in that mind, and would be no further troubled with that matter; whereof Davison having no certain assurance, but cause to think the contrary, he gave thereby, through the confidence of his report, cause for that great lord and the rest of the other lords and counsellors to proceed as they did. And Mr. Davison being none of the commission, and trusted only with the keeping of the same, had none authority to send it to be executed without her majesty's express order and commandment. In another point of duty Mr. Davison had also failed; for after the writ or commission was sent away, her majesty took occasion to speak to him again of the same matter, saying that she had thought upon another way, better to be followed in that cause; by which he might plainly understand that her mind was not that the execution should proceed at that time; but *he utterly concealed from her majesty in how far the same was proceeded; whereas, that speech being two days at the least before the Scotch Queen was executed, there was time enough left, if her majesty had known thereof, to have stayed it, if it had pleased her majesty.* And though he said he kept it from her majesty in respect of his promise made among the lords that it should not be discovered to any person, he ought in all duty, notwithstanding

that, not to have kept it from her majesty, from whom nothing of weight may be drawn, specially she giving him such an occasion as she did."

After having again stated wherein Davison's great fault consisted, it goes on to say, lastly, "that by this means it must needs follow that the queen will lose in respect and honour, both at home and abroad, because, after having so long reigned happily and powerfully, it now should fall out that any counsellor should presume to contemn her authority so much, and in so important an affair to proceed without her command."

The sentence determined on was, that Davison should pay a fine of 10,000 (what*?), and be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure.

Thus far my extracts relative to this transaction. In a writing of March, 1587†, which was probably drawn up by one of Elizabeth's servants, everything which had been said for and against the execution of the Queen of Scots is embodied. I select the most prominent and important facts:—"The said warrant was suffered to pass from her to the intent only (as her majesty hath been heard often times and earnestly to protest) that the notice of it to her privy council should satisfy them and her nobility of her stedfast perseverance in that purpose and determination, which they had with so great instance pressed her into, and that the general knowledge and publicity of such a warrant, which her majesty was not unwilling should be bruited and spread abroad, might be an expedient to interrupt any further dangerous attempts which might be wrought

* The sum first mentioned was only 1000 marks.

† Cod. Harl., 4647.

against her majesty by the favourers of the said queen, in the hope of her longer life and surviving, through her majesty's overmuch lenity and patience, which was like a dissolution of her mind, as many would readily conceive, and not in truth that the said warrant should be put in execution, but by her majesty's further advice and privity, and perhaps not without some further new cases or dangers enforcing her to let it be accomplished; and so her majesty, if the fact might have been hardly conceived of, is sufficiently cleared from all default therein.

" And yet no doubt it could not seem to deserve any blame, or tend to the discredit of her majesty's privy council, who received the same warrant from the secretary without any such notice or caution; they did with all diligence cause the same to be put into execution for her majesty's final security; wherein, if they should have used any delay, and in the mean time some evil consequence had happened, it might have called their loyalty extremely in question, or if the worst construction should have been made of their lordships' doing therein, it could not but be a right, wise, and honourable consideration, used by their lordships in a case of so great moment, and by the whole realm so firmly resolved upon, as it might not become any man to think it reasonable, or meet in any manner possible to be controlled. And they looked further in their mistress's danger than perhaps her own heart, always replenished with princely magnanimity, could be upbraided of; and perhaps feared more than needed the mutability of her majesty's mind, chiefly in things tending to mercy and commiseration, which, if it be a fault, may be reputed a princely

one, of which they supposed her majesty will never be able to reform herself during her life.

"And as it might have proved to her person very dangerous to have the said lady's execution deferred, so in the end, by the prudent advice of her council, such peril was speedily prevented, and is now in their lordships a great and good service, and well allowable, and to her majesty nothing inglorious."

"And this that has been said of her majesty's intents may very well be believed, and seem nothing unlikely to such as know and be well acquainted with her gracious and good nature, which she hath improved by the bitterness of misfortune, and great ingratitude of the world, as being thereby become obdurate and senseless as it were to all adversities, and so little joy in the transitory felicity of the world or glory of her crown, that she hath been heard many times to say, that she had resolved rather to hazard her person and state to the uttermost dangers that perverse fortune, or the malice of that queen, would procure her for the residue of her time, than to take the poor life of that queen, which her majesty had so many years protected from other men's assaults, which she thought was her great honour and no small glory.

"Nor was this intent of her majesty so close and secret but that many about her have been acquainted with it from her own royal mouth, and if it was otherwise, and had not been witnessed at all (which reasonably might have happened in so weighty a case, nor cannot work her majesty any prejudice whether it be confessed or denied), it were sufficient that this is vouched by her majesty's solemn protestation, made in the fear of God, and in all truth, princely

honour, and integrity averred: this ought to satisfy every particular person remaining ignorant or unsatisfied that this was her purpose; but especially all noble, wise, and honourable princes, who by the same prerogative would challenge credit to their own oaths and protestations in like case, and expect to be believed by others. Nevertheless, her majesty, as one that feareth no man's indignation, but God's alone, nor valueth any man's puissance who would undeservedly be her enemy, nor subject to any human authority within her own realm, nor accountable to any superior jurisdiction so long as it pleases God to keep her out of the hand of her enemies, doth not wholly insist upon that point, nor would have the world think that if her intent had been otherwise than hath been remembered, the matter being now fallen out as it is, and reduced to remediless terms, that she goes about to excuse herself of errors, nor the fact of iniquity any ways justly appearing; but continually following her own noble nature, doth with virtuous remorse and grief, which becometh the most puissant and humane princes, in excuse of so great commiseration, constantly affirm and protest, that she hath done nothing in this affair, from the first to last, whereby her conscience ought to be grieved, or that she hath done it from any ambitious mind or appetite of revenge, or from motives not otherwise warrantable by the rule of right and justice, nor even by the express letter of any law.

"It was not thought by any counsel or advice that there should be any more delay used for a small reformation of the said lady's excesses, and prevention of the last and greatest evil; for it was

in every man's opinion supposed to be impossible her majesty could live and be any small time preserved from destruction if the said queen should be suffered to live, or if her majesty should have borne any longer, and neglected the occasion last presented, which, of all attempts and conspiracies which passed before, was most evident, horrible, and dangerous.

"Elizabeth sorroweth not a little, and greatly rebuketh the popular rejoicings, by banquetings and bonfires made throughout her realm, for that case, and heartily wisheth that the occasion never had been given.

"The only cause for the great grief that her majesty hath conceived (wherein no man justly can blame her) is to think that she, of all Christian princes, should be made the first author of so strange a precedent in justice, and so far discrepant and contrary to her nature, to her sex, to the manner of her life, who had always professed peace, amity, mercy, and indulgence to all offenders, even her greatest enemies, so now to be driven, after the process of a long and glorious reign, to imbrue her hands in the blood of a queen, a kinswoman, a prisoner of so many years preserving, of which to lose all the thanks and glory in a day must needs be very grievous. Besides, her majesty seeking all the days of her life to get good renown by clemency and lenity, to make herself in the end famous* by an action of so apparent cruelty, and by so dolorous a sentence as no heart that was not made of marble or flint, or not sufficiently informed of the

* I think I can occasionally trace the direct influence of Elizabeth in the manner, arrangement of periods, and transitions.

said lady's evil merits, but might worthily seem to mourn and take to ruth."

After a circumstantial justification of the proceedings against Mary, the report goes on to say—"So as for examination and proof of her guilt, she had not one or two mean persons appointed to examine her, but thirty-six of the greatest princes and peers of the realm, furnished with sufficient commission to charge and oppose her in all her misdemeanors, and for manifold proofs of her offences. She had not any false or suborned witnesses produced against her, but the voluntary confessions of her confederates, lately before condemned and executed; letters of her own handwriting and her own subscription to her own crime. Also the subscription of the said thirty-six commissioners, parties to the examination, consideration, and registering of the said whole process, and for twelve judges of the fact, four hundred and fifty men, and for one substitute judge, a person of mean account, all the princes and people of the realm and the majesty of state, to sentence her; the same sentence with all solemn and universal publication pronounced, so as the favourers of that unfortunate lady (more in fact than could be any queen of the world) cannot truly say that this affair was secretly demained* or ruffled up in haste, or that her cause was not indifferently heard and plentifully debated, and with all formality of justice proceeded in; much less that it was done without any judgment or justice at all, by such secret and ungodly devices and means as could not be warranted in any honour or conscience, or by the law of God and man, as it had many times happened

* Perhaps from the French demené, debated.

to other most mighty princes, unfortunate as herself. So as nothing can be truly objected by this part of her majesty's proceedings which in any reason ought to incur to her majesty discredit or blame, or that may persuade any indifferent person in the world to think it might have been performed with better justice or more honourably.

"Mary was no longer a queen; she was subject to the English laws, and could not do what she liked. Her majesty has done to Queen Mary as she would have done to her, but no more or otherwise, but a great deal less, since the said lady (if her practices had prevailed), without any law or judgment, would have had her majesty murdered."

LETTER LXV.

Behaviour of James—James and Elizabeth.

THE important question now was, how King James would receive the death of his mother, and how he was to be pacified? I will lay before you some documents which bear more immediately upon this point, and also throw light on the subject in general.

On the 10th of February, 1587, Courcelles's reports*:—"King James says, for the Queen of England's menaces, he should have little courage if he should be intimidated by an old woman, ill-beloved of her subjects, being weary of her government, ill-assured among her own subjects, in perpetual fear of her own servants; and that more than ever was he, that caused his beard to be shaven with burning walnuts, fearing lest the barber should cut his

* Bibl. Cottoniana. Caligula, C. ix.

throat; if she sees one she knows not well come near her, she runs away like one undone. And if the queen meddled with his mother's life, she should know he would follow somewhat else than dogs and deer."

On receiving the news of Mary's execution, King James was at first exceedingly angry*, but he was soon appeased, and besides, met with no sympathy among the Scotch.

On the 8th of May, 1587, Courcelles writes† :— "Gray presented the Queen of England's letter to the King of Scots, containing among other things that she marvelled he should press so earnestly to let (hinder) the execution of one which never did him any office of a mother, and whom for nineteen years she (Queen Elizabeth) had kept like a serpent for his surety in her own bosom; and that forgetting her without any care for her execution, she would become a mother for him, and prove how much she desired his advancement, more than she that bore him, who had sought his ruin as well as hers, as he should understand by one to be sent shortly to him. The king received these letters without making show of like or dislike."

At the same time Walsingham wrote to the Chancellor of Scotland‡ :—"He taking arms against this realm in revenge of an action so necessary, done by general consent for the safety of her majesty's person and this state, and accompanied with that justice as all the world may be judges of the honourable and upright proceeding used in that behalf.

* Scrope's Report of the 21st of February. Calig., C. ix., 166.
† Ibid. ‡ Cod. Harl., 4111.

It can by no means be avoided, but he must be said to oppose himself to the course of justice, and so consequently to the judgment of God, whose minister this state was in the execution thereof. And so we, standing in defence of justice, shall not lack the arm and assistance of the Almighty against all the potentates of the world, that shall in so unjust and desperate a quarrel attempt anything against this realm. King James has no prospect of success; and failure would be his greatest misfortune. France is in the greatest disquiet; but the pope and the King of Spain are no less dangerous to the king than to us. We may easily presage and judge rightly how far he (Philip) would presume of the donation made of the crown by the late Queen of Scots in her letters, promised to be confirmed by her last will and testament, whereof his ambassador at Paris, Mendoza, seeked already to make open vaunt, and what herself had practised to that effect with her servants since her condemnation.

"The king should thank God who has delivered him by this mean (the execution of Mary) of a greater burthen of conscience which otherwise must have lain upon him; as at whose hand God would have looked for a revenge of his father's blood, so innocently and horribly spilt by her concert and privity; not to speak of the goodness of God toward him of establishing his throne, continually undermined by her practices. The end hereof, if he be well counselled, will be the beginning of all happiness in Scotland, where, (instead of being sent for a hostage or ward to pope or Spaniard, as the said queen would have made him,) he might now absolutely and quietly reign."

At a subsequent period, when the English ambas-

sador Wigmore* went to Scotland, he was furnished with very minute instructions, from which the following is extracted:—"The king must be made sensible that the queen was guilty, which was evident by the voluntary confessions of Babington, Ballard, and the rest, and wherein they persisted to their death; by the copies of those letters produced that went between them, confirmed upon oath by Nau and Curle to have been written and received by the Scotch queen, and sundry other letters to the same effect written by her to Charles Paget, Morgan, and divers others, which Nau and Curle confirmed *vivâ voce* before the whole assembly. That the proceeding was honourable, the ancientest and best nobles of both religions, with all the privy counsellors and judges of England appointed to examine the cause in the Scotch queen's own presence; all that could be alleged being in truth but frivolous, though cautelous, her defence standing in effect upon terms and insinuations to the Catholic party, of her devotion to their cause, and sowing of divisions and suspicions between those that were employed. By these she was found guilty, and the sentence was confirmed by parliament *nemine contradicente*; so all things therein were done with great debates and not huddled in a few days, so this must be free from scandal.

"That it was necessary to proceed, lest the statute made for her majesty's safety, with so great deliberation and so good reason, should be thought to be made in vain, all provisions in the same afterwards should fall into contempt, a thing very impo-

* Cod. Harl., 5647.

litic. The queen and her council therefore could do no less, upon the discovery of the Scotch queen's attempt by Babington and Ballard's accusations, but proceed to the examination of the truth of the matter.

"That the fact appearing so detestable and her malice so great against the queen, and the subjects pressing her majesty so earnestly, she could not but yield to their claims rather than to the entreaty of any foreign prince, or others not so deeply concerned. To gain their purpose they used threatenings, with which in honour she was not to be moved, neither should nor could she have anything for her labour at their hands, as was thought; for as it appeared evidently by letters written by the principal counsellors in France, they reckoned that if the queen yielded anything for the Scotch queen's good, it should be on the consideration of her own advantage rather than from any desire to gratify them. The Scotch ministers also, (as Keith, Gray, Melvil,) by their threatenings and insolent manner of mediation, rather kindled the queen's and the English humour, and every clown in their train used so strong speeches as made the intercession more odious.

"The offers for the queen's safety of hostages, as an obligation for the Scotch queen's good behaviour in time to come, were not relished by England, neither were they sufficient for the queen's safety; for the Scotch queen had published her desire in that behalf to all those of her party that they should not forbear following their enterprise because of her. So it was not likely that any good caution could be had to restrain the malice and conspiracies of every particular person who had set his rest upon her coming

to the crown; so should the queen have been subject to continual dangers, though she in thought had been free from the guiltiness thereof.

"It had been dangerous for the queen to deny this request unto her subjects, who waited unto that answer, and would have thought all that preceded fraudulently done; that the odium of the persecution, arraignment, sentence, &c., would have fallen to the share of the subjects, but the praise of mercy and securing her life, she designed to have for herself. Upon this they had more cause to fear her delay, or that her majesty had no regard to her subjects' surety and peace, and that she preferred the requests and threats of the Scotch and of France to the desire of the English nation.

"It might have alienated the minds of her subjects, and proved dangerous to herself and her estate at home, considering how hateful the Queen of Scotland was for her religion, and her practices with the Duke of Norfolk; blamed for the blood of so many noblemen and gentlemen who suffered for treason in England since her coming thither. Besides, she was fully persuaded she would make no scruple of murder and cruelty, being charged with the death of her husband, the king's father.

"The Scotch king therefore in reason cannot be offended for her consulting her own safety. They abuse him villainously who say it was a plot laid beforehand for her ruin. First they say that the association was made, then the statute, and lastly a bait laid for her. The truth of the matter is, the association was occasioned from the discovery of Parr's conspiracy against the queen's person, which discovered a most desperate design of that whole party,

who, upon the miscarriage of their plot for the change of government and religion by her liberty, now resolved to murder her majesty. After the statute was concluded upon, the issue showeth whether there was not cause to enact it.

"To say a bait was laid to her is too malicious. Babington, Ballard, and the rest, had been mad fellows if they would have been hanged to serve our turns. None could discover anything of this during their imprisonment, trial, and execution; and if there had been a snare laid for her, none could force her to consent. She did more in approving and directing them, as appears by her letters.

"As to the objections to be made about the proceedings against Davison, which infer a contradiction of her majesty to all these things, the cause is not that her majesty condemns the act, as unlawful, but because the circumstances were not observed according to her meaning, as the sentence was pronounced at the Star Chamber.

"Some say maliciously that the queen had a cunning meaning to shift the blame from herself upon her counsellors, by this to strengthen her government better; having brought her counsellors into as bad terms with the king as they were before with his mother, that thus they should fear the loss of her majesty. But the truth is, the queen was on the one hand unwilling to deny justice to her subjects, and on the other to proceed against the Queen of Scotland. So she signed a warrant, to be executed, if need required, for the good of her subjects, and yet supposed the Scotch queen to be out of danger, unless she further deserved. Herein Davison partly mistook her majesty's meaning, but he

could not do otherwise for his own discharge, no more than the rest of the counsellors who were sworn to the association; and saw more peril in the delay than pity would suffer the queen to see, though it was her own case.

"Now the guilt of the Scotch queen and the necessity of that proceeding being considered, the king has no cause to be offended with the council, the nation, or Mr. Davison, who (this case set aside) has always been well affected to him; but above all he has the least cause to be offended with her majesty. The king is not obliged in honour to revenge, as they would have him to believe. The scandal of her death is no more to his charge than the faults of her life. He has no cause to be sorry for her death; her life entertained faction, for she had surely set up a regency in Scotland, and given him as hostage to the King of Spain or the pope, as her own letters testify; by her will she endeavoured to disinherit him, because he was not a Roman Catholic."

I omit the further explanation respecting the affairs of the church, and the grounds for which James was counselled to adhere to England. These, however, had more weight with him than the instigations of France and Spain, though the decision did not rest entirely upon his own will.

At a later period Ashleby writes to Walsingham*:—"James is fully convinced of Elizabeth's innocence, but wishes, however, to make something public relative to the sentence of the judges against Davison."

* The 8th of August, 1588 (probably 1587). Cod. 4647.

LETTER LXVI.

Essex to Davison—Fortescue to the Earl of Leicester—Report of the Transactions by Chateauneuf, the French Ambassador—The Duke of Guise and the English Ambassador Unton.

To the above communications, which, I conceive, throw considerable light on this much disputed point, I subjoin the following. In a later letter of the Earl of Essex to Davison, he says*, "I made (represented to) her majesty, what in your health, in your fortune, in your reputation with the world, you had suffered since the time that it was her pleasure to commit you. I told her how many friends and well-wishers the world did afford you, and how, for the most part through her realm, her best subjects did wish that she would do herself the honour to repair for you, and restore to you, that state which she had overthrown. Your humble suffering of these harms, and reverend regard towards her majesty, must needs move a prince so noble and so just to do you right. And more I had said if my gift of speech had been any way answerable to my love." The queen appeared to be affected by this representation, praised Davison's former conduct, but did not promise to attend to it.

On another occasion Elizabeth said to Burghley†, "I can do nothing for Davison without exciting suspicion that he is innocent."

On the 3rd of April, 1587, John Fortescue wrote to the Earl of Leicester, who was at that time out

* Cod. Harl., 290.

† Ibid., p. 230, from a letter from Gray to Davison.

of the queen's favour*. "Your departure from London being so hasty that I could not wait on you, to acquaint you of the cause then in hand and now passed, yet have I never omitted all due means to the quieting her majesty's troubled mind, and now, though all be not overpast, yet the greater storm is overblown. The action in the Star Chamber was so proceeded in as the deserts of the late Scotch queen were made apparent, the justice of the sentence confirmed and allowed, the honourable proceedings of the lords and the necessity which followed made apparent. Yet her majesty's inclination to mercy, although to herself and the whole state dangerous, showed forth Mr. Davison's good zeal and *happy error* in not signifying her majesty's delays, and in breaking of the secrecy committed to him, punished by a fine of 20,000 marks and imprisonment during her pleasure, in which there was a repetition of the comfortable and honourable speeches delivered to your lordship at my lord chancellor's. The first report on the dealings was laid on me; I gave such an account that her majesty was well satisfied, and her anger to Mr. Davison and all others assuaged, so that a good ground was left for a better course to be taken.

"It was resolved that the publication of that affair should be by a proclamation, which was penned by her majesty, yet that had been omitted. My endeavours shall not be wanting to the quieting all things the best I may. I find her majesty grievously offended with my lord-treasurer, and wounding him bitterly, though I have endeavoured to ap-

* Cod. Harl., 4647.

pease her, yet to no purpose; she cannot be persuaded to call him to court; time may mollify, but entreaty cannot."

In April, 1587, the French ambassador, Chateauneuf, wrote to Henry III.*:—"Walsingham made me many excuses respecting the death of the Queen of Scotland, and threw all the blame on Davison, who had, however, done nothing but what an honourable man, a true servant of his queen, and a friend of his country, ought to have done. It was true that he had gone beyond the commands of the queen, though he had acted in conformity to the opinion of the council; nay, Walsingham told me that he† had had the death-warrant sealed by the lord chancellor under a false pretence that it was a commission for Ireland, so that the chancellor affixed the seal without having read the document; that the queen was, besides, so enraged with all the members of the council, that she would see none of them (not even Leicester, Burghley, and Hatton), because they gave credit to a mere assurance of Davison. She said that to proceed thus, without her knowledge was placing her under a guardianship.

"As, however, the execution of Mary was necessary to the welfare of Elizabeth and the state, they considered it very strange that the King of France should be so enraged at it."

In May, 1587, Henry wrote to Chateauneuf—"I have received your report, wherein you inform me that Elizabeth is much enraged with those of her council who signed Mary's death-warrant, that she

* Raumer's Letters, vol. ii., p. 216.

† Qu'il avoit fait. This, I take it, means Davison, and not Walsingham.

has desired them to remain out of her presence, and commanded them, and especially Davison, on whom all the blame falls, to be brought to public trial. The punishment, however, was not so severe that she could alter anything as to what has been made known respecting the death and execution of the Queen of Scotland."

In a letter of Henry III. to his ambassador in Scotland, it is said—

"Of all the mournful and terrible news that his majesty ever received, none was more painful and bitter to his heart than the unjust and lamentable death of the Queen of Scotland. His majesty was the more wounded in this respect that no attention was paid to the urgent representations of his ambassadors."

The following letter of Chateauneuf to Henry III., of the 13th of May, is more important:—

"I did not wish to speak of the Queen of Scotland; but Queen Elizabeth seized my hand, took me into a corner of the room, and said—'Since I have seen you, I have met with the greatest vexation and the greatest misfortune that has happened to me in the whole course of my life; I mean the death of my cousin.' She swore by God, and with many oaths, that she was innocent of it. The sentence had indeed been signed by her, but only to quiet her subjects, and on the same ground she had withstood the intercession of the French and Scotch ambassadors. 'But in truth,' continued she, 'I never intended that she should be executed; only if a foreign army had been landed in England, or an insurrection had broken out in favour of Mary, in such a case, I confess, I might perhaps have suffered her to die, but

never in any other case. My counsellors, among others four who are now present, have played me a trick, whereof I cannot quiet myself. As true as God lives, if they had not served me so long, if they had not done it in the persuasion that it would tend to the welfare of their country and their queen, I would have had their heads cut off! Do not think that I am so malicious as to throw the blame on a paltry secretary if it were not so; but this death will, for many reasons, be a weight upon my mind as long as I live.'"

On the 3rd of July, a solemn funeral of Mary took place at Peterborough, which was attended by many lords, ladies, clergymen, and nobles*.

Chateauneuf wrote to Henry III. respecting it—"Sire,—On the 11th of this month Queen Elizabeth caused the obsequies of Queen Mary to be celebrated at the cathedral church of Peterborough, where she was interred on the right side of the choir, opposite to Queen Catherine of Arragon. Her secretaries, Nau and Curle, have been set at liberty, and everything that they formerly possessed was restored to them after they had, in full council, signed a declaration that their evidence was true, and given without force, violence, or bribe."

The relations of Queen Mary, especially the Duke of Guise, spoke violently against Queen Elizabeth, on which account Unton†, the English ambassador at Paris, addressed to him the following letter, in May, 1588:—

"You have, in the residence of the Duke of Mayenne, spoken in an absurd and insolent manner of

* Cod. Lansdown, 260, p. 265.

† The author, in his letters from Paris, calls him Ompson.

my queen, whose honour was never called into question by virtuous and honest men, and which I am now ready to defend by my word and my sword. I say unto you that you have shamefully lied, and will always lie, if you attack the honour of that princess, who is the most excellent upon earth, and who can least of all be judged of by a traitor, unfaithful to his king and country, as you are. Wherefore I challenge you to meet me with what weapons you like, either on foot or horseback. Neither are you to imagine that I am not your equal, for I am sprung from an English race as great and as noble as your own. Fix the day and the spot where I may accuse you and repeat my challenge. If you have the least courage, you will not suffer this; and if you would endure it, I would everywhere make known that you are the most cowardly calumniator and the greatest poltroon in France. I wait your answer."

As this letter, and also a second, produced no effect, Unton wrote again on the 31st of May:—

"My Lord of Guise,—Two challenges you have already received; but as you choose to act the part of the deaf and dumb, I herewith send you a third, and if thereto I receive no answer, I will make everything publicly known."

LETTER LXVII.

Schiller's Maria Stuart.

Thus my reports and extracts relative to Mary Stuart have come to a conclusion, and I might congratulate myself on the richness of my booty, and

also on your approbation. Instead of this, however, I am swayed by an unpleasant and harassing feeling, such as I have never experienced at the conclusion of any other work. I perceive that, independently of the hitherto existing doubts, objections, and difficulties, an immense number of new ones will arise, which I have no time, and still less inclination, to discuss and examine in detail. For even if I would undertake this disagreeable and wearisome task, every one would probably abide by his preconceived opinion, and I should be obliged to acknowledge that I had lost my time and my labour.'

'For many men there is no such thing as history, as there are others for whom there is no such thing as poetry. In the opinion of the former, Schiller's work is the only, and the only credible source; nay, they go still further, and pay no regard even to what is there expressed, which is not agreeable to their wishes. It would be better they declared plainly, all history to be unpoetical, than give out fables for genuine history.

'Schiller's tragedy begins with the catastrophe. The causes of it are in part correctly stated in the first scene; but these few epic words lose all their effect before the highly-wrought dramatic part which follows. Besides, so many other additional motives are invented, that Mary's earlier life appears quite independent of it; and the acrimonious dialogue between the two queens seems more important and eventful than former and recent crimes, or the dangers of a world.

'In my opinion, the true history of Mary affords a greater and more profound, a double tragedy, of which the first half, perhaps that which is most calculated to move the passions, is in Scotland. Here

Mary is the beautiful, young, poetical, enthusiastic, innocent woman. The splendour of the Roman Catholic religion—the austerity of the Puritans—the ardour of unrestrained passion—Knox, Chastellart, Rizzio, Darnley, Murray, Bothwell—what strongly-marked characters—what contrasts and gradations!—to Mary's downfall from the throne, which, in truth, concludes her life in such a manner that only a long and void space remains, till former scenes, in rapid change, are in some measure repeated.

Were Schiller now alive, I should more easily come to an understanding with him than with many of his admirers. I should do entire justice to the energy of his language, his poetic spirit, his profound feeling; but he would allow, without any hesitation, that many things in his tragedy are not founded on history. He would justly assert the liberty of the poet to arrange and adorn the facts conformably to his object; but he never would have affirmed that history, as such, has not its own ground, its own truth, and also its own feeling. The manner, for instance, in which Schiller makes Queen Mary go to meet death, in all the splendour of admired beauty, excites the deepest sympathy; the historical truth did not suit his purpose. Yet I confess that I have been no less moved by this very historical truth—that this queen, in premature old age, with grey hairs, deprived of all her loveliness, scarcely able to walk a few steps—that she should be summoned from her sick bed, where she was tormented by ambition more than by pain, and compelled to mount the scaffold.

I will not, however, blame Schiller for having placed Mary in too bright a light, but for having

disparaged Elizabeth, Burghley, and Leicester. It is a mistake to think that she sinks when they rise; on the contrary, by paying greater regard to the true history, the whole tragedy is elevated into a purer region, and the parties and persons appear then with greater dignity, in contrast with each other.

However this be, I will not go beyond my last; there is no historical truth in Schiller's tragedy, except the bare outlines of the great facts. On the other hand, I mention as historically untrue, for instance, the seizure of the papers in Mary's presence, the existence and love of Mortimer, Leicester's connection with Mary and Mortimer, the interview (which never took place) and the quarrel of the two queens, the following attempt to assassinate Elizabeth, the arrest of Mortimer, the repentance of the secretaries, Leicester's presence at the execution, his and Shrewsbury's desertion of Elizabeth, &c.

There are persons in the history of the world whose position may be called misplaced, nay, impossible, and whose whole existence is a source of evil. Such an one was Mary Stuart. Harsh as the report of her death sounds in the world and in history, it was the last dissonance. With it all party divisions, all conspiracies in England, were at that time fully put down and buried; unanimity increased the energy and enthusiasm of the people to such a degree, that Philip's invincible armada was gloriously vanquished, and a new era for Britain and even for Europe began.

As there are ill-fated persons, there are also ill-fated families. The fortunes of Mary are but one scene in the long and fearful tragedy of the Stuarts. Her ancestor in the sixth degree up-

wards, King Robert III., had a nephew, named Alexander Stuart, who, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, murdered Malcolm Drummond, the brother of the Queen of Scotland, and married his widow Isabella, with her consent—a counterpart or antetype of the history of Darnley, Bothwell, and Mary. The Duke of Albany, brother of King Robert, threw his son and his own nephew Rothsay into prison, and let him starve till he gnawed the flesh off his own limbs, and then died. As soon as Rothsay's brother, James I., the father of Mary's great great grandfather, ascended the throne, he sought and found an opportunity to have all the sons of the Duke of Albany beheaded, for which, in the year 1436, and partly by his own relations, he was attacked and killed with sixteen wounds. James's widow sacrificed the perpetrators to the manes of her husband, in a manner which calls to mind the vengeance of Queen Agnes for King Albert of Germany. James II., Mary's great great grandfather, caused two of his cousins, the Douglases, to be beheaded, murdered the third with his own hands, and perished by a violent death at the siege of Roxburgh. His son, James III., Mary's great grandfather, was engaged in a sanguinary contest, first with his brother, the Duke of Albany, and then with his own son. He lost, against the latter, the battle of Sauchieburn, and was assassinated on his flight. James IV., Mary's grandfather, did not enjoy the happiness which he expected in the sovereignty that he had unjustly acquired, and was killed in the battle of Floddenfield. James V., Mary's father, lost his senses, through grief at the disobe-

dience of the nobility and the failure of his plans, and died eight days after the birth of his daughter.

Such were the ancestors of Mary! and now her descendants: James I. (VI.), Charles I., Charles II., and James II., four kings of whom it is difficult to say whether they were more unfortunate or more unworthy. Before the Stuarts lost their power for the second time and for ever, James II. caused his nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, to be executed, and thus concluded the three hundred years' series of bloody deeds and fortunes of this ill-fated race!

LETTER LXVIII.

Elizabeth's Reproofs of James—Elizabeth and the Polish Ambassador and the Turkish Sultan.

Mary Stuart was now put aside, but not her son's pretensions to the throne. Few persons presaged, at that time, what would ensue for England from the foolish wisdom and the wise folly of James. Elizabeth alone appears to have seen through him; at least she wrote to him admonitory letters, such perhaps as no other crowned head ever received. One of them is as follows*:—

"When the first blast of a strange, unused, and seldom heard sound had pierced mine ears, I supposed that flying fame, who with swift quills oft passeth with the worst, had brought some reports of untruth; but when so many records on your open part bore witness of such pronounced words, not more to my disgrace than to your dishonour, who

* Cod. Harl., 4645.

did forget that above all other regards a prince's mouth ought to utter nought of any, much less of a king, than such as to which truth may say amen. But you, neglecting all care of yourself, what danger and reproach, besides somewhat else, might light upon you, have chosen so unworthy a theme, to charge your only careful friend withal of such matters as (were you not amazed in all senses) could not have been expected at your hands, of such imagined untruths as never were once thought of in our time, and do wonder what your spirits do possess you, void of any show of truth. I am sorry that you are so wilfully fallen from your best eye, and will needs throw yourself in the hurlpool (whirlpool) of bottomless credit. Was the haste so great to hye to such opprobry, before you would but ask the question of her who best could tell it? You have pronounced, but never thought of action.

"I see well; we two are of very different natures; for I vow to God I would not corrupt my tongue with an unknown report of the greatest enemy I have, much less could I detract my best deserved friend, with a spot so foul as could ever be outraged. Could you root your desire of gifts of your subjects upon no better ground than this quagmire? which to pass you scarcely may without the slip of your own disgrace.

"Shall ambassadors be sent to foreign powers laden with instructions of your rash advised charge? I assure you the travel of your crazed words shall pass the bounds of too many lands, with an imputation of such levity, as the sunshine of my fair dealing and extraordinary care ever for your safety and honour, shall overshade too far the dim and misty

clouds of false invectives. I never yet loved you so little as not to moan your infamous dealings which you are in mind. We see that myself shall possess more princes, witnesses of my causeless injuries, which I could have wished passed no seas to testify such memorials of your wrongs. Bethink you of your dealings, and set your labour on such mends, as best may, though not right, yet save some piece of this overslip.

"And be assured that you deal with such a king as will bear (from?) you no wrongs nor endure infamy. The examples have been so lately seen as they can hardly be forgotten of a far mightier and potent king than any England had. Look you not therefore that without large amends I may, or will, slip up such indignities. We have safe sent this bearer, Bowes, whom you may safely credit, to signify such particularities as fit not a letter's talk. And so I recommend you a better mind and more advised conclusion; praying God to guide you for the best, and deliver you from sinister advices, as desireth your more ready sister than yourself hath been, for that is fit."

James had doubtless offended the queen, in his usual manner, with vain and inconsiderate language, though I have not been able to discover anything on the subject. An exculpatory letter from James, of July, 1598*, perhaps refers to it. At all events the above reproof was written after the victory over the Spaniards.

The following letter of Elizabeth to James, written in the year 1601†, is in another tone, though

* Cod. Harl., 4647. † Ibid.

here; too, there is throughout a slight vein of irony. "My very good brother,—Though matter I have long to lengthen my letter, yet you must bear with few lines, driven thereto by an evil accident of my arm, and yet my memory shall never be short to keep in mind your ready kindness with the offer of your subjects' service, made to me, together with the care and speed that therein you used. As also the good warning you gave me of a supposed army from Spain for England, which, though I nothing fear though they came, as nothing doubting that their speed should be as shameful to them as the preceding has been; yet my thanks for your care, together with your good counsel, not to neglect such a matter, bindeth me to conceive that you would be loath that any disaster should arrive to her, that yet (God be praised) never tasted of any. And thus I end to trouble you, with a mind to bide your affectionate sister."

This may be a proper place to insert the following letter from Robert Cecil to the Earl of Essex, on the audience of a Polish ambassador*. "He was a gentleman of excellent fashion, wit, discourse, language, and person. The queen was possessed by some of our new counsellors, that are as cunning in intelligence as in decyphering, that this negotiation tended to a proposal of peace. Her majesty, in respect that his father the Duke of Friesland had so much honoured her, besides the liking she had of this gentleman's comeliness and qualities, brought to her by report, did resolve to receive him publicly in the chamber of presence, where most of the

* Cod. Lansdowne, 85, No. 19, of the 26th of July, 1597.

Earls and noblemen about the court attended and made it a great day. He was brought in, attired in a long robe of black velvet, well jewelled and buttoned, and came to kiss her majesty's hand under the state (canopy?), from whence he straight retired three yards off, and then began his oration aloud in Latin with such a gallant countenance as in my life I never beheld. Now, however, he proceeded to unexpected reproaches, that Elizabeth arrogated to herself an intolerable authority over others, gave no satisfaction for the injustice of her subjects, violated the laws of nature and of nations, and if she would not put a remedy to this, he, the King of Poland, would!

"To this I swear to God that her majesty made one of the best answers extempore in Latin that I ever heard, being much moved to be so challenged in public, especially so much against her expectation. The words of her beginning were these:—*'Expectavi orationem, mihi vero querelam adduxisti!* Is this the business that your king has sent you about? Surely I can hardly believe that if the king himself were present, he would have used such language. For if he should, I must have thought that his being a king, not of many years, and that not by right of blood, but by right of election, they haply have not informed him of that course which his father and ancestors have taken with us, and which peradventure shall be observed by those that shall live to come after him. And as for you, although I perceive you have read many books to fortify your arguments in this case, yet I am apt to believe that you have not lighted upon that chapter that prescribes forms to be observed between kings

and princes; but were it not for the place you hold, to have so public an imputation thrown upon our justice, which as yet never failed, we would answer this audacity of yours in another style. And for the particulars of your negotiation, we will appoint some of our counsel to confer with you, to see upon what grounds this clamour of yours has its foundation, who have showed yourself rather an herald than an ambassador.'

"I assure your lordship that though I am not apt to wonder, that I never heard her (when I know her spirits were in passion) speak with better moderation in my life."

There is no doubt that her actions, as well as her language, were of a very different nature from those of her successor, James, who, on such occasions, took pleasure in prolix, and almost always useless discussions. How highly Elizabeth was honoured by all powers, even those that were otherwise averse to her, is well known. In the year 1588 the Turkish sultan addressed her as follows*:—"Honorata a domino, legis christianæ matrona, culmen castitatis, inter castissimas feminas populorum qui serviunt Jesum ornata splendore dominationis ac regiminis, regnorum domina, magnitudine et laude maxima in Nazarena natione reputata."

* Cod. Harl., 6265. Another Oriental address of the sultan is in Cod. 4762, p. 7.

Note.—Mr. Joseph Von Hammer, in his History of the Ottoman Empire, has the merit of giving information respecting the earliest connection between England and Turkey, which has hitherto been unknown even in England itself. It appears that in 1574 three English traders, William Harborne, Edward Elbron, and Richard Staper (probably Stepney), solicited permission to merchandise, together with a despatch from the sultan to their sovereign, which was

LETTER LXIX.

Henry IV. to Burghley—Burghley's Advice to his Son.

Not only Elizabeth herself, but her principal officers of state, enjoyed the highest esteem both at home and abroad. The worth and influence of Burghley in particular were duly appreciated and acknowledged in letters from foreign sovereigns. Thus Henry IV. of France wrote to him on the 30th of January, 1590, the following letter with his own hand*:—

"My Lord High Treasurer,—I have long before this been sensible of the obligations which I owe to you for having always shown your readiness to pro-

accepted by Sokolli, the Grand Vizir. A reply was sent to this despatch; and to a second, of which Gabriel Desmens, a trader, was the bearer, Elizabeth answered that she would send ambassadors as soon as the domestic tranquillity of England was re-established. Accordingly, in 1583, Harborne, the first English agent at the Porte, brought as presents to the sultan, a watch, valued at 5000 ducats, three silver gilt candlesticks, two goblets, and nine English dogs, together with presents of woollens and fine linen to all the vizirs. Mr. Von Hammer publishes two letters from Elizabeth; the first of the 15th of November, 1582, to Sultan Mahomet, and the second, of the 20th of December, 1587, to Sultan Amurath; and copies of two petitions, dated the 9th of November, 1587, and 30th of November, 1588, addressed by English envoys to the Porte. These documents are in Latin, and Elizabeth styles herself "Elizabetha Dei optimi maximi mundi Conditoris et Rectoris unici Clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Regina, veræ fidei contra idololatras, falso Christi nomen profitentes (so she designates the Catholics) invicta et potentissima propugnatrix." The second mission was that of Edward Barton, in 1588. The great object was to induce the sultan to assist Elizabeth in the war against Spain. These documents are extremely curious, and well worthy the attention of all persons who take an interest in the history of our country.—*Note of the Translator.*

* Cod. Lansdowne, vol. lvi., No. 31.

mote the interest of my affairs with the queen, your mistress, my good sister; but what my cousin, the Viscount de Turenne, has written to me on the subject, calls upon me to thank you for your services, which I hereby do, begging you to continue them; and be assured that you have not obliged an ungrateful prince, but one who will acknowledge them whenever he has an opportunity, which I beg you to believe and to depend upon, as well as on what M. De la Tour will tell you from me, who pray God to have you, my lord treasurer, in his holy keeping."

Though Burghley's advice to his son is not unknown, the following extract of the principal points may be properly placed here:—"Choose thy wife with prudence, for an error in this case is binding for the whole life. Let her not be poor, then how generous soever, for a man can never buy nothing in the market with gentility; nor choose a base and uncomely creature altogether for wealth, for it will cause contempt in others and loathing in thee; neither make choice of a dwarf or a fool, but (for) by the one thou shalt beget a race of pigmies, the other will be thy daily disgrace; and it will irk thee to hear her talk, and thou shalt find to thy grief that nothing is more fulsome than a she fool.

"And touching the government of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate, and according to the measure of thy estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly, for I never knew any grow poorer by keeping an ordinary table. But some consume themselves through secret vices, and then hospitality bears the blame. Banish swinish drunkenness out of thy house, which is a vice that impaireth health, consumeth much, and maketh no show; and

I never heard praise ascribed to a drinker, but the well-bearing of his liquor, which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a carman, than either for gentlemen or serving-men. And beware thou spend not above three of the four parts of thy living, nor a third part of that in thy house, for the other two parts will do no more than defray the extraordinaries, which will always surmount the ordinaries by far; otherwise thou shalt live like a rich beggar in actual want, and the needy man can never live happy, for every least disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell, and that gentleman that sells an acre of land, sells an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing (more) than old riches, so that if the foundation shrinks, the building must needs follow.

"Bring thy children up in learning, yet without austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly, give them a good countenance and a sufficient maintenance, according to thy ability, otherwise thy life will seem their bondage, and what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death, they will thank death for it, not thee. And I am persuaded that the foolish cockering of some parents, and the over stern carriage of others, causes more men and women to take ill courses than their own natural inclination. Marry thy daughters in time, lest they marry themselves, and suffer not thy sons to pass the Alpes, for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they get a few broken languages, that will profit no more than to have meat served at divers dishes (tables). Neither by thy consent shalt thou train them up to war, for he that sells his life to live in that profession, can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian; for every war is

of itself unjust, unless the cause makes it just. Besides, it is a science no longer in request than in use; for soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer, &c.

"Undertake no suit against a poor man without receiving much wrongs, for besides thou makest him thy competitor, it is a base conquest to triumph over where is small resistance: neither attempt law against any man before thou be fully resolved thou hast right on thy side, then spare neither for money nor pains, for a cause or two so followed and obtained will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

"Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles.

"Towards thy superiors be humble yet generous, with thy equals familiar yet respective (respectful); towards thy inferiors show much humility and some familiarity, as to bow thy body, stretch forth thy hand, to uncover thy head, and such like popular compliments. The first prepares the way to thy advancement, the second makes thee known for a man well bred, the third gains a good report, which once gotten is easily kept; for high humility takes so deep root in the minds of the multitude, as they are easier won by unprofitable courtesies, than churlish benefits, yet I advise thee not to affect or neglect popularity too much.

"Be not scurrilous in thy conversation nor satirical in thy jests; the one will make thee unwelcome in all companies, the other will call on quarrels, and get the hatred of thy best friends: for sulphurous jests, when they savour too much of truth, leave a bitterness in the minds of those that are touched. I have seen many so prone to quipp and girde, as they would rather lose their friend than their jest,

and if perchance their boiling brains yield any quaint scoff, they will travaill to be delivered of it as a woman with child. Their nimble apprehensions are but the froth of wit, &c."

LETTER LXX.

Elizabeth—Henry III.—Henry IV.—The Earl of Essex.

THOUGH the main object of my communications related to the reciprocal positions of the two queens, Elizabeth and Mary, I may here add some particulars respecting the intercourse between England and foreign powers, the Earl of Essex, and the death of Elizabeth*.

Queen Elizabeth was, during the whole of her reign, in a very precarious situation with respect to the two great powers—Spain and France. Both hated her on account of her religion; and if Philip II. was besides incensed by her support of the Netherlands, the party of the Guises looked upon her as a personal enemy. Yet those powers hesitated to break openly with her, and several times, when both of them had reasons enough for going to war, they notwithstanding persisted in keeping peace.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew alienated Elizabeth from the French court; she wept bitterly over it, and said she would give 300,000 crowns that it should not have happened †. At a later period Henry III. indeed complained that she supported

* Raumer's Letters, vol. ii., p. 221-242.

† Fenelon Ambassades. MS. de St. Germain, vol. 739.

Henry IV., but was answered that Elizabeth desired nothing so much as the restoration of peace in France.

On the 9th of April, 1588, (a short time therefore before the days of the barricade,) she wrote to Henry III. the following letter with her own hand*. "I thank you that you have never undertaken anything against me and my kingdom. If I supported Henry of Navarre, it was in the conviction that his ruin would be your own. I have, besides, constantly advised him to submit to you, but not change his religion against his conscience. The party of the Ligue is already too powerful and favoured; it has already deprived you of the honour due to you, and no one is in a condition to make head against it. The King of Navarre has no intention to undertake anything against you, and no Protestant would support him in so detestable a purpose. If you suffer the Huguenots to live in the enjoyment of liberty and security, you will find friends in them, and obtain the support of all Protestant princes."

When Henry III., instead of following this advice, united with the league, Elizabeth said† that a greater war would arise from this, but God would, as hitherto, not withdraw his support from her.

On another occasion, during this great danger, she said to the French ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf‡, "I will not give up what I hold in the Netherlands; I will, by God, hinder the King of Spain and these Guises from making a laughing-stock of me, a poor old woman; for though I have the frame of a woman, I have the heart of a man."

* Pinart, vol. 8868. † Letter of August 7th, 1588.
‡ Rélations d'Angleterre, vol. 52, lettre du 13 Mai, 1587.

With Henry IV. also she was not always satisfied. I subjoin one of her letters*, written in French, which are difficult to translate.

"My very dear Brother,—The learned have disputed which of the senses, the sight or the hearing, deserves the preference. Had I been present at the discussion, and the examples had been such as those I have now before me, I should have declared in favour of the sight; for then I should have indeed seen the commissioners who saluted you, but not have heard the bad accounts which expose you to the dangers of a battle, &c.

"If God in his mercy should give you the victory, I swear to you it is more than your negligence deserves. How could you be so ill-advised as to believe that the best liguist could have contrived anything more advantageous for himself than to gain time, on which all their welfare depends, but which deprives you of everything that you aim at? You are too slow to do yourself any good; you are more inclined to venture than to finish; but both ought to be done at the right time. I should never have ventured to write to you in this manner did I not find in it a remedy against anger; but your ambassador has too much confidence in my power to subdue your passions, and in this hope he has besought me immediately to express to you my displeasure at the too great patience which you manifest towards your enemies. I hope you will have some to spare for me, who am your friend. Did not my age reckon upon forgiveness for my boldness, I would not have used so many words; but persons of my sex prate more than the wise. Excuse my errors and follow

* Without date. MS. de Henri Egerton, vol. xx., lettre E.J.

my advice, which comes from a heart that does not cease to pray to God to lead you on all occasions to victory."

I have found nothing that throws any new light upon the history of the Earl of Essex, but a few notices which are interesting *. In the first place, the directions of Elizabeth respecting the manner in which her ambassador in France was to conduct himself towards the Earl of Essex; they are dated the 24th of July, 1591:—"You are not to forget," she says, "what an especial service you will render us by paying attention to the actions of our cousin and Lieutenant-General the Earl of Essex, letting him know from time to time what people say in praise or blame of his proceedings. Give him good advice how he may improve himself, by doing which you will please us, and perform the duty of a faithful servant and ambassador. By acting thus, you will give him reason to love you. Though young noblemen are not apt at the outset to listen patiently to good advice, we however command you, without regard to such considerations, to deal openly and honourably with the earl."

On another occasion, Essex told the French ambassador in London, Beauvoir La Nocle†:—"I have three times entreated the queen for the commission to the Prince of Dombes, but she has thrice refused it me, though I have been full two hours on my knees before her. At last she said that it would not be seemly that she should send an envoy of a higher

* Biblia Cotton. Caligula, E. viii.

† Beauvoir's letter to Henry IV., of January 15, 1591. Asleridge College (Ashridge Collect.?), MSS. Franc. Egerton, vol. xvi., letter B., i.

rank to the Prince of Dombes than to the King of France."

M. de Bouillon, who came to England as ambassador from France, in 1596, says of Essex*:—"He is a young nobleman of excellent understanding and much courage; but as he is not assiduous in his attention to the queen, and causes her some discontent through certain particular affections †, it is believed that he has rather fallen into disgrace, and that the present voyage is to be considered as an honourable absence. But as it is the nature of this queen not easily to abandon those whom she has loved, and the young earl is highly esteemed in this country, it is supposed that he will either recover his credit or utterly ruin himself."

The last took place, and M. Boissise, the French ambassador, relates how Essex and Cecil contended for the highest place in Elizabeth's favour‡. He then continues:—"The earl, by returning from Ireland contrary to the queen's orders, lost her favour, lived in his own house, and would have been very fortunate if he had suffered himself to take warning by her anger. Her majesty was informed that he was engaged in some intrigues, and invited him to attend a sitting of the privy council, on the 17th February, 1601. He however excused himself, alleging that he had received information that he was to be arrested. On the following morning, Sunday, the lord keeper, with three other counsellors, went to him, and summoned him in the name of the queen to come to her, or to disclose the ground of

* Négotiations de Bouillon et Janey. MS. de Brienne, No. 37.

† Certaines affections particulières.

‡ MSS. de St. Germain, vol. 740. Letter of 6th March, 1601.

his discontent, that it might be removed. He answered—'I have learnt that Lord Cobham and Raleigh intend to kill me, and cannot without danger of my life come to court, where my enemies enjoy the highest favour.' These noblemen could not persuade themselves that this was the case, and wished to return to court, but they were hindered from doing so, and complained that violence had been done them, and that they had been guarded like prisoners. They were, however, set at liberty after the earl had left his house, about nine o'clock in the morning; for as he did not think himself safe at home, he went with twenty or thirty of his friends, who, however, had no arms but their swords, to the mayor, and begged him to take him under his protection. This was, however, declined, both by the mayor and the sheriff. Meantime, those who accompanied him told the people that Cobham and Raleigh had wanted to kill him, and some offered to die for him, without, however, proceeding any further, or taking up arms. As soon as intelligence of this affair reached the court, Burghley, the brother of Cecil, received orders to make proclamation in the city, in the name of the queen, that Essex and his companions were traitors. This was done first in front of the earl's residence, and then in other parts of the city. When Essex heard this proclamation, he went forwards to attack Burghley; but some say the latter did not wait for him. Hereupon, seeing that nobody stirred in his favour, he attempted to return to his house in the suburbs, but found the door beset; and when he endeavoured, notwithstanding, to enter by force, a few shots were fired and some persons wounded. He then took to the

river, and went by water to his own residence, where he was besieged, and compelled to surrender, with the Earl of Rutland his son-in-law, and the Earl of Southampton, who had married one of his cousins.

LETTER LXXI.

Bouillon on Elizabeth and England—Despatches of M. de Beaumont, the French Ambassador—Nivers—Essex—Biron—The Earl of Clancarty—Ireland—The Spanish War.

M. DE BOUILLON, in his despatches relative to his journey to England, in the year 1596, gives some general information respecting the country, and Queen Elizabeth*. He says that "the nobility are deeply involved in debt, principally through extravagant expenditure in dress and in the number of their servants. Merchants purchased the estates of the nobility; young ladies of rank married persons of inferior condition; and the lower classes of the people are comparatively very rich, because they live well indeed, but yet economically, and are by no means burdened with many taxes. The towns flourish through trade, &c.

"The government," he continues, "is entirely in the hands of the queen, who has at the same time established an admirable obedience to herself, and is extremely beloved and honoured by the people. The parliament had formerly great weight in this kingdom, but now turns whichever way the queen pleases. The prelates are dependent—the barons few in number; neither dare to displease her, and

*, Bibl. de Brienne, No. 37, fol.

the people have had such experience of the mildness and convenience of her government that they grant her whatever she wishes. She possesses much understanding and courage, and is adorned with many great qualities. She speaks Spanish, French, Italian, and Latin; knows something of the sciences and of history; is thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of her kingdom; knows those of her neighbours; and judges well of them. She is passionate and violent among her attendants, and demands more than is due to her sex. Though she entertains great and honourable plans, she very much dreads expense, is more frugal than she ought to be, and instead of giving, will have others give to her. She has received presents perhaps to the amount of 60,000 crowns; and when she visits any one in the country, her reception is reckoned a poor one if no present is offered her on her departure.

"She is blamed in the country for having sequestrated 60,000 crowns which Sir Francis Drake had deposited with the Mayor of London while he was in her naval service; likewise for having retained in confinement several persons under sentence, in order to enjoy meantime their revenues, and those of their wives.

"Though she is sixty-three years of age, she still dresses like a girl. Those whom she has loved have perhaps had much power in the affairs of the state, but never all. She has constantly had the commendable prudence of trusting much to able statesmen, and by their influence counterbalancing such as enjoyed her personal favour.

"The Earl of Essex is at present the person most in favour. The lord-treasurer directs the most impor-

tant affairs, which he thoroughly understands; he is rich, has powerful connections, and entertains great designs, but his health begins to give way, &c."

Very instructive information respecting the last years of Elizabeth and the first of James I. is afforded by the despatches of the ambassador Count Harlay de Beaumont*. The best way will be to extract the most important, in chronological order:—

1. DESPATCHES OF THE 1ST APRIL AND 29TH MAY, 1602.

"Elizabeth gave an entertainment to the Duke of Nevers at Richmond, and after dinner opened the ball with him, in a gaillarde, which she danced with admirable skill for her age. Since the Duke of Alençon was here, she has not done this honour to any foreign prince. On hearing from the ambassador that Henry IV. had suffered from gout, she said, 'This complaint is much more suitable for the pope and the emperor, who live in great repose and constantly shut up; but not for the King of France, who is fond of bodily exercises, the chase, and war.'"

2. DESPATCHES OF 24TH MAY, 10TH AND 18TH JUNE, 1602.

"Henry IV. had declared that he must preserve peace with Spain, because his kingdom was still so poor and filled with noxious humours, that it required repose to recover itself. Elizabeth, in allusion to this war, told Beaumont—'In spite of all these threats of Philip II., I cannot fear either the cou-

* There are several MSS., which are more or less perfect:—1st, a vol. in folio, in the library of St. Germain; 2nd, Dupuy, in 4to., No. 327-328; 3rd, Bibliothèque Royale, 1424-1425; 4th, Bibl. Roy., 8988-9001; 5th, Brienne, No. 38-41, the most complete MS.

rage or the ability of a prince who was twelve years old before he could learn his alphabet.

" ' I had a mind to go to Ireland in person; but my counsellors declared that my people would never consent to my leaving this kingdom, and put me in mind that during my absence King James of Scotland might attempt to put himself in my place. I disregard all grounds of personal danger on such an occasion, so dear to me are the honour and happiness of my subjects. I am, besides, weary of life, for nothing now contents my mind or gives me pleasure*.'

" She accompanied these words with sighs and other expressions which indicated great sorrow respecting the past, by which she probably intended to make me understand how much she lamented Essex. She also said to me, almost with tears, ' I clearly foresaw that his impatient spirit and his ambitious conduct would entangle him, to his misfortune, in evil designs. More than two years before I had warned him, by telling him that he would do well to content himself with making a point of displeasing me on all occasions, and of despising my person so arrogantly, but that he should beware of touching my sceptre†. Thus I was compelled to punish him according to the laws of England, and not according to my own, which he had found far too mild and pleasant, for him to fear that I should do anything disagreeable to him. My

* Lasse de vivre, n'ayant plus rien qui lui contentât l'esprit, n'y à quoi elle prit plaisir.

† Qu'il se contentât de prendre plaisir de lui deplaire à toutes occasions et de mépriser sa personne, si insolemment comme il faisait, et qu'il se gardât bien de toucher à son sceptre.

too affectionate and salutary exhortations could not restrain him from plunging into ruin, and thus my passion was overcome by one still stronger, though I shall look back upon it with regret as long as I live*."

"Beaumont answered, 'It is an eminent proof of your good disposition that you cannot forget those whom you have loved. Yet you must the rather overcome your sorrow for the earl's death, as not only the safety of your life and your kingdom depended upon it, but inestimable glory must accrue to you, because you courageously conquered yourself, preferred the welfare of the state to your own inclinations, and knew how to distinguish between your own person and the kingdom.' Perceiving that the subject affected her too much (as it often does), and that she could not leave it, I purposely gave the conversation another turn."

3. DESPATCH OF THE 26TH JUNE, 1602.

"Referring to the treason of the Duke of Biron, Elizabeth said, 'In such cases there is no middle course; we must lay aside clemency as too dangerous, and adopt extreme measures. He who touches the sceptre of a prince lays hold of a firebrand which must destroy him; for him there is no mercy. To pardon persons of this description would be doing positive injustice, and draw down upon oneself eternal contempt and inevitable destruction. I doubt not but the King of France, unused to such events, and inclined to forgive and forget injuries, suffers

* Ses avertissemens bien que trop salutaires, ne l'avaient pu retenir de se perdre, et que sa passion avait été aussi surmontée par une plus forte, dont elle n'oublierait jamais le regret qu'avec la vie.

much when he is compelled to pronounce the ruin of a man whom he has so loved, and honoured. I have but too well experienced how strong this disposition of the mind is, and I shall feel this regret through life; yet where the welfare of my state was concerned, where I was called upon to give an example, and to think of the safety of my successors, I durst not indulge my own inclinations: I have found my advantage in so doing, and if the king acts in the same manner, he will likewise consolidate tranquillity, and relieve his soul from suspicion and mistrust, which hinder princes from governing with freedom and satisfaction.'"

4. DESPATCH OF THE 14TH JULY, 1602.

Beaumont declares himself adverse to the Jesuits, and says, "It is not necessary to be a bad subject in order to become a good Christian. Obstinacy, perversity, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have ruined that sect in England. They did not only refuse to acknowledge and obey the queen, but engaged in conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and in connections with the enemies of the kingdom, for the purpose of effecting her downfal. Thus, instead of meriting protection and support from her clemency, they have so provoked the queen that she was compelled for her own safety to exercise rigour, and to deprive them of all liberty."

5. HENRY IV. TO M. DE BEAUMONT.

"I think on the person, counsellors, conduct, consideration, and power of the King of Spain as Elizabeth does, and believe that an attack would shake and weaken his monarchy. On the other hand, if I reflect on the resources and situation of my own

kingdom, I must, at this time, fear as much as hope from a war. At all events, I cannot lessen the advantages of my position by delaying and quietly looking on while others fall to blows."

6. DESPATCHES OF BEAUMONT, OF 13TH SEPTEMBER, 2ND OCTOBER, 1ST, 3RD, 20TH NOVEMBER, AND 18TH DECEMBER, 1602.

"In the same proportion as Elizabeth is easily irritated, she is also easily appeased, and may be won by a little. She appears to be naturally extremely polite and gracious. No change must be expected in this kingdom, either in church or state, so long as the queen lives, for she is not only beloved, but adored. Her strength, it is true, fails, and she suffers from pains in the bladder; yet she is restored to health for the present. A Spanish mathematician has calculated that she will pass her 75th year. Her eye is still lively; she has good spirits, and is fond of life, for which reason she takes great care of herself. To this may be added an inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a brave and handsome Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope and confidence respecting her age; this inclination is, besides promoted by the whole court, with so much art, that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it.

"The affairs of Ireland go on so well that there is not a single rebel in the field. I believe that this fortunate state of things arises from the favour which this Irish earl enjoys here*. On the other hand, he is very cold by nature, and has neither un-

* Query. Was not the favour shown to the earl by the queen a piece of policy on her part, from her knowledge of his influence with his countrymen?—*Note of the Translator.*

derstanding nor conduct to raise himself, though there is no want of advice and assistance. The flatterers about the court say, in order to gain favour, that he resembles the Earl of Essex. The queen, on the other hand, with equal dissimulation, declares that she cannot like him, because he too strongly revives her sorrow for the earl; and this contest employs the whole court."

7. DESPATCH OF THE 13TH MARCH, 1603.

"To my request for an audience, the queen answered that I must excuse her for a few days, till after the mourning for the death of the Countess of Nottingham, for whom she has shed many tears, and manifested great affliction."

LETTER LXXII.

Elizabeth's Sickness and Death.

I HAVE found various accounts of the last illness and death of Queen Elizabeth, which I will here subjoin:—

I. Despatches of the French Ambassador, M. Beaumont:—

DESPATCH OF THE 19TH OF MARCH, 1603.

"Elizabeth's health is very indifferent; sickness only, and not her grief at the death of the Countess of Nottingham (as she alleged in excuse to me), has prevented her from showing herself. The uneasiness that already prevails in the city is great, and the lords of the council have this morning proposed among themselves, in the event of the evil increas-

ing, to shut up and guard all the ports of the kingdom. The queen has not had any sleep during this time, and eats much less than usual. Though she has no actual fears, she suffers much from incessant restlessness, and from so great a heat of the mouth and stomach that she is obliged to cool herself every instant, in order that the burning phlegm, with which she is often oppressed, may not stifle her. Some are of opinion that her illness has been brought on by her displeasure at what has happened with Miss Arabella; others suppose that it has been caused by the Irish affairs, her council having constrained her (against her nature and inclination) to grant a pardon to the Earl of Tyrone; while others affirm that she is possessed with grief at the death of the Earl of Essex. It is certain a deep melancholy is visible in her countenance and her actions. It is, however, much more probable that the sufferings incident to her age, and the fear of death, are the chief causes of all; for if we set aside that she endeavours by a regular life and restraining the passion of her mind, she endeavours most carefully to preserve her health, I am persuaded that the causes above alleged could not suffice so powerfully to affect both mind and body, and cause her to suffer so severely."

2. REPORT OF THE 24TH OF MARCH, 1603.

"The queen was given up three days ago; she had lain long in a cold sweat, and had not spoken. A short time previously she said, 'I wish not to live any longer, but desire to die.' Yesterday and the day before she began to rest and found herself better, after having been greatly relieved by the burst-

ing of a small swelling in the throat. She takes no medicine whatever, and has only kept her bed two days; before this she would on no account suffer it, for fear (as some suppose) of a prophecy that she should die in her bed. She is moreover said to be no longer in her right senses: this, however, is a mistake; she has only had some slight wanderings at intervals."

3. REPORT OF THE 28TH OF MARCH, 1603.

"The queen is already quite exhausted, and sometimes, for two or three hours together, does not speak a word. For the last two days she has her finger almost always in her mouth, and sits upon cushions, without rising or lying down, her eyes open and fixed on the ground. Her long wakefulness and want of food have exhausted her already weak and emaciated frame, and have produced heat at the stomach, and also the drying up of all the juices, for the last ten or twelve days.

"This morning the queen's band has gone to her from here; I believe she means to die as cheerfully as she has lived*."

4. REPORT OF THE 1ST OF APRIL, 1603.

"The queen is drawing near her end, and has been given up by all the physicians. They have put her into bed almost by force, after she has been sitting upon cushions for ten days, and been quite dressed for scarce an hour in the day. She then seemed to feel better, and asked for meat-broth,

* It does not appear whether Elizabeth or her council ordered this. It was probably done to make the people believe that she was not so ill.

which gave all fresh hopes. Soon after this, however, her voice began to fail, and since then she has eaten nothing, but lies quite motionless on one side, without speaking or looking at any body. Yesterday she had some meditations read to her, and among them, those of M. du Plessis. I do not think that in her present state she is able to make her will or to appoint a successor. Some say that Cecil is guilty of the death of the queen, because she was once angry with him. He has probably connections with James of Scotland and his wife, who has very great influence."

5. REPORT OF THE 5TH OF APRIL, 1603.

"On the 3rd of this month, at three o'clock in the morning, the queen very gently resigned her spirit. She had lost her speech the day previous, and had rested five hours before she died."

II. On the 25th of March (O. S.) an anonymous correspondent writes to Lambert:—

"For almost three weeks the queen suffered from low melancholy and stupor, not without signs of a distempered brain *. She could be prevailed on neither by entreaties, arguments, nor artifices, to take the least medicine, and scarcely sufficient nourishment to support life. She could get no sleep whatever. Dreading her bed, she sat up whole days supported by pillows, mostly awake, and speaking not at all. The energy of her mind she retained to the last moment, while on the other hand she lost her speech three days before her death. After she had duly accomplished all the duties of the happiest

* Cod. Lansdown, vol. 89, No. 9.

of princes and the most Christian of women, she died yesterday, the 24th of March, at the hour of matins."

III. Bishop Kennet relates*—"Elizabeth had several of her learned and pious bishops frequently about her, performing the last offices of religion with her, as particularly Watson, the Bishop of Chichester, her almoner, the Bishop of London, and chiefly the Archbishop, with whom, in her prayers, she very devoutly, both in her eyes, hand, and tongue, and with great fervency, joined. She cared not to hear any other discourse but with them, about her spiritual estate; and though she was impatient of any speeches of others with her, yet she was ever well pleased to hear the Archbishop and the Bishop of London give her counsel and comfort."

IV. The following is taken from another apparently official report and deposition respecting Elizabeth's illness and death†:—"Already in January, 1603, the queen was ill of a cold, and Dr. Dee advised her to beware of Whitehall; she therefore resolved on the 14th of January to go to Richmond, and on the same morning spoke to the Earl of Nottingham about her successor. Her seat, she said, had ever been the throne of kings, and none but her next heir of blood and descent should be her successor.

"From the 28th of February to the 15th of March she was again unwell; after the 15th, rather better; after the 18th, much worse. On Thursday the 23rd of March, the lord admiral being at the

* Cod. Lansdown, vol. 983, page 23. † Ibid., 512, p. 42.

right side of her bed, the lord keeper at the left, and Cecil at the bed's feet, all standing, the lord admiral put her in mind of her speech concerning the succession, had at Richmond; and that they, in the name of all the rest of her council, were come unto her to know her pleasure who should succeed? whereunto she thus replied:—'I told you my seat has been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me, but a king.' The lords not understanding this dark speech, and looking the one on the other, at length Mr. Secretary boldly asked her what she meant by those words, that no rascal should succeed her? 'And who,' quoth she, 'should that be (namely, her successor) but our cousin of Scotland?' They asked her whether that was her absolute resolution? whereunto she answered, 'I pray you trouble me no more; I will have none but him;' with which answer they departed.

"Notwithstanding, about four o'clock in the afternoon the next day, after the Archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her, and left her in a manner speechless, the three lords aforesaid repaired unto her again, asking her if she remained in her former resolution, and who should succeed her? But she, not being able to speak, was asked by the secretary in this sort, 'We beseech you, if you remain in your former resolution, and you would have the King of Scotland to succeed you in your kingdom, show some sign unto us?' Whereat, suddenly heaving herself up in her bed, and putting her arms out of bed, she held both her hands jointly together over her head in manner of a crown, whereby they guessed she signified that she did not only wish him the kingdom, but desired the con-

tinuance of his estate." (?) The three lords afterwards testified on their honour the truth of this account before the whole council*.

Even without Elizabeth's decision James I. could not have been kept away from England; but there were probably at that time persons who were able and willing to see further than Francis Bacon, who said, "We account it as a fine morning before sunrising†."

LETTER LXXIII.

Molino upon England—London—James I.—Queen Anne—Prince Henry—Cecil, Earl of Salisbury—Elizabeth.

Among the manuscripts in the Harleian Library there is a narrative by the Venetian Molino respecting England in the year 1607, from which I subjoin some extracts.

Molino, after having described and praised the natural condition of England, adds, "It is therefore the general opinion of the physicians, that if the inhabitants of this kingdom would refrain from intemperance, to which they are much addicted, they would enjoy long life and health.

"London is the first city in Europe, as well on account of its extent as its situation and the number of its inhabitants. It has a population of above 300,000 souls, and is full of merchants and maga-

* It is a proof of Elizabeth's great activity of mind, even at an advanced age, that she translated, in the year 1593, Boethius de Consolatione Philosophica, and, in 1598, Horace's De Arte Poetica, and Plutarch on Curiosity. Cod. Lansdown, vol. 253, p. 234.

† Ibid. 4761, p. 177.

zines of all kinds of wares, both for use and luxury. Numerous buildings and most noble churches evince the piety and religion of their ancestors; but they are now desolate and abandoned, nothing being left but the walls, and they more frequently serve as promenades to carry on business, or other such uses, than for divine worship, for which they were built.

"The inhabitants of London are all citizens, merchants, and artisans, out of whom the aldermen are chosen. The municipal government has a republican form, the king and the ministers not interfering in anything, and the customs of London are followed in all the other towns of the kingdom. The nobles, as in France and Germany, reside almost always at a distance from the town, at their country seats.

"Scotland and England are now united, but only in the person of the king; for the diversity and alienation of the people's minds is so great that it is believed that the power of the kingdom has rather decreased than augmented. Their hatred even goes so far, that they seek each other's lives in a very extraordinary manner. In parliament every one may freely speak what he thinks necessary for the good of the country, even though he should speak against the person of the king, who, to say the truth, was at that time rather the head of a republic than a king.

"James I. is a great sportsman. He has laid aside all business, abandoning it to his council and his ministers, so that he is a king in name and appearance rather than in effect and reality. However, I take this to be in consequence of his own choice, as he has understanding and learning enough to govern. He does not behave to his subjects with affability, by which Elizabeth gained their affections.

As she was universally loved in a wonderful manner, James is despised and hated. He prefers living in retirement with eight or ten of his court, than openly and publicly, as is the custom of the country and the wish of the people.

"His queen, Anne, has rather an ordinary appearance, and lives remote from public affairs. She s very fond of dancing and entertainments; she is very gracious to those who know how to promote her wishes; but to those whom she does not like, she s proud, disdainful, not to say insupportable.

"Prince Henry has an elevated mind, and excites great expectations by the gravity of his behaviour and his diligence. However, he studies more out of respect to his father than from his own inclination, for which reason the king has several times reproved him, and said that if he did not become more diligent, he would leave the kingdom to his brother Charles, who was more assiduous in his learning. The prince, out of respect for his father, was silent; but when his tutor proceeded with similar exhortations, he answered, 'I know what becomes a great prince: it is not necessary that I should be a doctor, but rather a soldier, and well acquainted with the affairs of the world. If my brother becomes so learned, they will make a bishop of him.'

"Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, enjoys so much authority that he may be said to be king and ruler of this kingdom. Brought up in the school of his father, and by long practice, he has had an opportunity of qualifying himself for the weightiest affairs, and establishing his reputation. He not unfrequently revokes favours that have been granted immediately by the king, affirming that all must pass

through his hands. He is of small stature and deformed, but has a noble countenance. He discourses admirably in his own language; and speaks French tolerably well. He is cunning, sagacious, more inclined to revenge than to love, very rich, proud, and repulsive, often indiscreet in his language, and a bitter enemy to the Catholics."

After this glance at a later period, let me conclude my account with what Molino says of Elizabeth:—"She was the most remarkable princess that has appeared in the world for these many centuries. In all her actions she displayed the greatest prudence, which is evident from the fact that she reigned forty-two years and preserved her kingdom in peace, though at the commencement, from religious and other motives, it was full of ill-humours. But she knew how to adapt her conduct to times and circumstances so well, that she overcame every difficulty; and though there were some troubles during her reign, they were of trifling importance. And with admirable firmness she not only withstood her enemies, but overpowered them.

"I say, in conclusion, she was the most prudent in governing, the most active in all business, the most clear-sighted in seeing events, and the most resolute in seeing her resolutions carried into effect. She was beloved by her subjects, who still regret her; she was dreaded by her enemies; and, in a word, possessed, in the highest degree, all the qualities which are required in a great prince."

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Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019